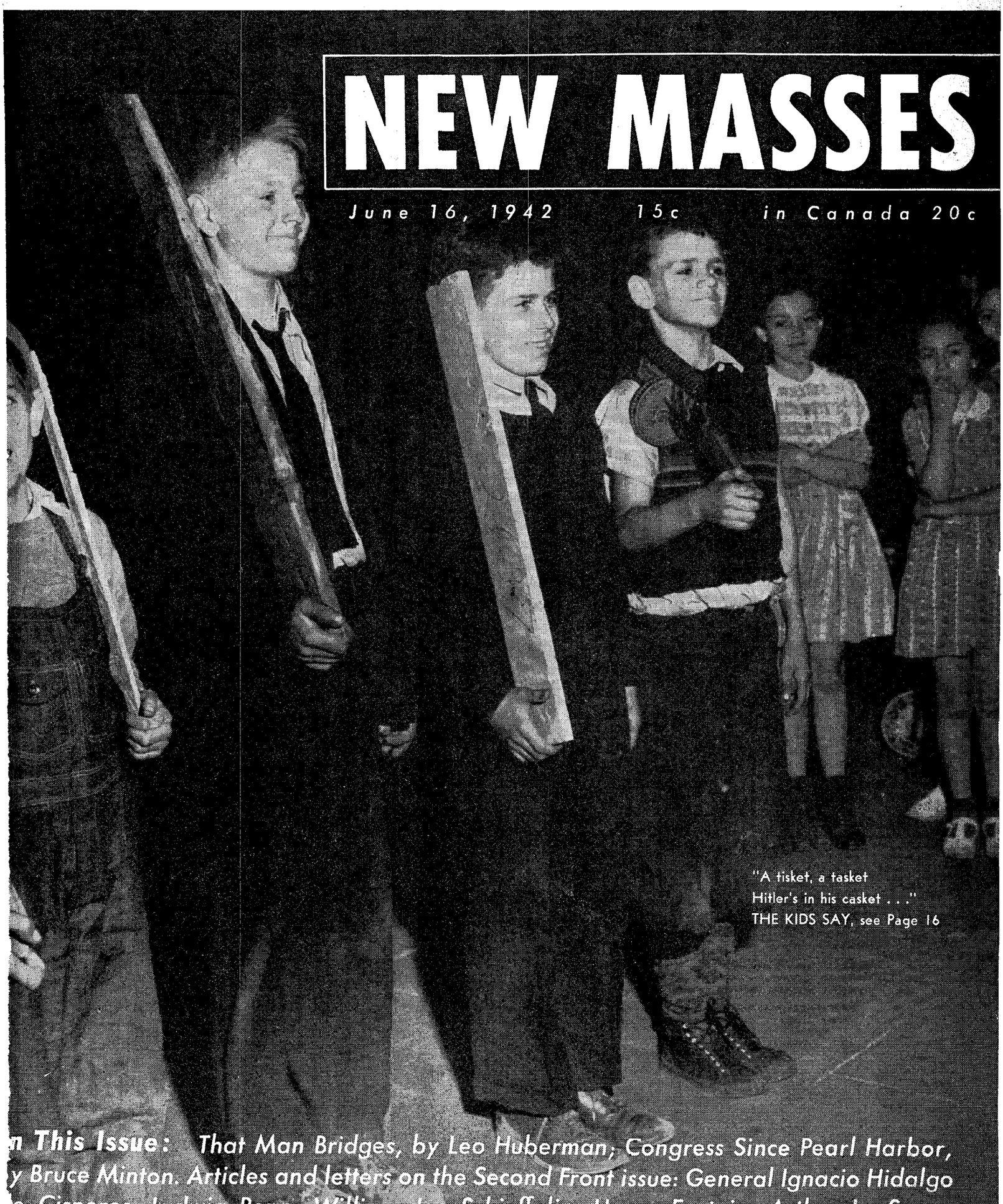
WHAT THE ALLIED PARLEYS MEAN See Page 3

NEW MASSES

June 16, 1942 15c in Canada 20c



"A tisket, a tasket
Hitler's in his casket . . ."
THE KIDS SAY, see Page 16

In This Issue: That Man Bridges, by Leo Huberman; Congress Since Pearl Harbor, by Bruce Minton. Articles and letters on the Second Front issue: General Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros, Ludwig Renn, William Jay Schieffelin, Henry Epstein, Arthur Le Sueur.

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16,386

If you could be certain that a dollar would win the war, would you give that dollar?

Well, we can't guarantee that it will win the war, but we can guarantee that it will help.

NEW MASSES is out to help win this war, win it fast, win it so it stays won.

To help win the war we asked for $40,000 for our fund drive.

Our good friends and readers gave us $23,614.

That leaves $16,386 to go.

Now, if we could get one dollar from each of 16,386 of our friends and readers — and we have many, many more than that — our quota would be filled and the influence we wield would be assured for another year's battle against Hitlerism.

We want the dollar you didn't spend yesterday. The dollar you might spend tomorrow anyhow. A dollar you wouldn't miss ten minutes after you put it in the mail.

We can put your dollar to work today to help us win this war. If we don't win it, your dollar won't be any good anyhow.

When we do, you'll agree it was a small investment for a mighty return.

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VOLUME XLIII NUMBER 11

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THE MASTER CHEF GOES TO WORK

Carlisle in The Des Moines Register

"Whatever it is he's cooking up, we're not going to like it."

NY TIMES MARCH 29, 1942

When the Punching Bag Socks the Champ—That's NEWS

PM MAY 13, 1942

FROM WAITING TO ACTION

The coalition gathers strength. An Editorial

As Walter Lippmann remarked in one of his columns last week, "It can be no secret and no special knowledge is needed to see it, that we are engaged in strengthening our alliances with Great Britain, Russia, and China." Evidently, discussions have been proceeding in the major Allied capitals, especially in Washington, among the highest representatives of the United Nations. That is of course good news, and as Lippmann continues, "necessary."

It's been obvious that the association of nations formed after Pearl Harbor would have to coalesce into a much closer, firmer alliance to meet the challenge of this summer's fighting. It may be true that a single command is impractical in this war, but a unified strategy and conception of the war is essential. And as a precondition for this, a more intimate association of the democratic statesmen and their military, naval, and economic specialists.

Our enemies have been trying to strengthen their own alliances. Hitler is scouring Europe for manpower; Laval is openly trying to recruit Frenchmen for the job in Czechoslovakia; after the murder of Heydrich, a reign of terror is under way to force the Czech people into line. Last week Hitler traveled to embrace his partner-in-crime, Marshal Mannerheim of Finland, a trip obviously connected with impending operations from the Baltic against Leningrad and from the Arctic against Murmansk and Archangel and the vital routes to the Soviet interior. And undoubtedly the Nazis are dovetailing their plans for this year with those of Japan.

The precise nature of the United Nations discussions we do not know, but the outstanding problems fall into a number of logical categories. There are economic issues, both for the duration of the war and its aftermath. In February, a lend-lease agreement was reached with Great Britain, providing that lend-lease repayment would not be such as to jeopardize postwar economic stability. This same agreement was recently concluded with China, and Secretary of State Cordell Hull has implied that it was offered to the USSR. Evidently, this is still under consideration.

Immediate issues, however, may be of greater practical importance. There is the need for a shipping pool with emphasis on the needs of the north Atlantic route. A much more rapid and thorough association of the Latin American nations and their economic resources is necessary; the same is true of parts of Africa like the Belgian Congo, whose representative recently arrived in Washington. Economic advice and methods have to be interchanged, and our plans of production adjusted to the experience of China, Russia, and England. Edward J. Stettinius, of the lend-lease administration, recently disclosed that such an exchange had begun. The agreement whereby we concentrate on heavy bombers and the British on fighter planes is a case in point.

Much of this, of course, depends on political clarification. In this category, there are many issues which we intend to discuss in subsequent weeks. Immediately, however, a unified approach to the Axis and to the war's crisis this summer is vital. America has taken a necessary step by declaring war on Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania. The issue of Finland, however, is still outstanding, and Mr. Hull's repetition of last November's warning that the Finns are suspected of helping Hitler, and just mustn't do that any more, strikes us as hardly strong enough for the occasion. It isn't a question of pleasing Russia, or going back on the erstwhile sentimentalities regarding the non-existent Finnish democracy; it's a matter of hard military necessity.

Is the route to Murmansk and the railway to Leningrad vital to us? Yes, every commentator admits that it is. Is Mannerheim helping Hitler to close those routes? Yes, obviously. Then it follows that we must keep the routes clear; otherwise our aid to Russia doesn't mean anything. And keeping those routes clear involves a declaration of war on Finland. It is time we stopped pussyfooting and called a spade what it is.

Finally, there is the most vital need of all: agreement that this year, 1942, is the crucial one, a revision of the conception that the war's crisis can be delayed until we are as ready as we should like to be. It means strengthening the Pacific theater by sending planes to China, by energetic counter-attacks such as took place at Midway last week, and by a Pacific Charter such as would enroll the masses of the Far East in our cause, the peoples of India in particular.

And finally and most important, it means to plan and execute together with our British ally, a second front on the continent of Europe within the next weeks, a front that would jibe with renewed offensive efforts by our Russian friends, and hold forth the possibility of defeating the Axis this year.

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LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

Bruce Minton examines the important legislation against which the clique of appeasers and poll-tax congressmen have successfully campaigned since Pearl Harbor. Second in the series "Wanted: A Victory Congress."

Washington.

THE best way to start a survey of the 77th Congress is to get out the record and take a look at it. This is not quite so easy as it sounds. The record includes far more than a simple listing of approved legislation. Discussion on the floor of the House and Senate must be taken into account. What is said and done by Congress should be compared with the people's obvious needs.

It is well to bear in mind that it would be a mistake to treat Congress as a monolithic body. The legislature is composed of ninety-six senators and 435 representatives: a large proportion vote in favor of bills which do not pass; or against legislation which wins majority approval. Individual members often suggest measures which fail to gain sufficient support to merit consideration.

In Table 1, I have listed all legislation enacted since Pearl Harbor (with the exception of items concerning the recompense of individuals, the erection of monuments, and the like). The declaration of war seems a good date of departure—the issues became most clear to the vast majority the moment the United States formally entered the world struggle. From then on our very existence as an independent nation was clearly at stake, and Americans unitedly called for total victory over the Axis.

At first sight the number of congressional acts may appear impressive. But in addition to the appropriation bills (without which the government could not exist, without which America could not wage war), Congress endorsed only three measures of major importance—starred in the table. The remaining legislation was routine, of no great significance in molding general policy.

The formal record takes on sharp meaning when it is seen in relation to the issues uppermost in the minds of the American people. In Table 2, I have listed some of the problems ignored or at least insufficiently discussed by Congress as a result of the obstructionist activity of a small group of appeasers and southern poll-taxers. True, so long as the 77th Congress remains in session, it may very well act upon a number of these matters—for example, Congress will undoubtedly pass some sort of tax bill. But for six months of war the reactionaries in Congress prevented consideration of too many vital questions of the day.

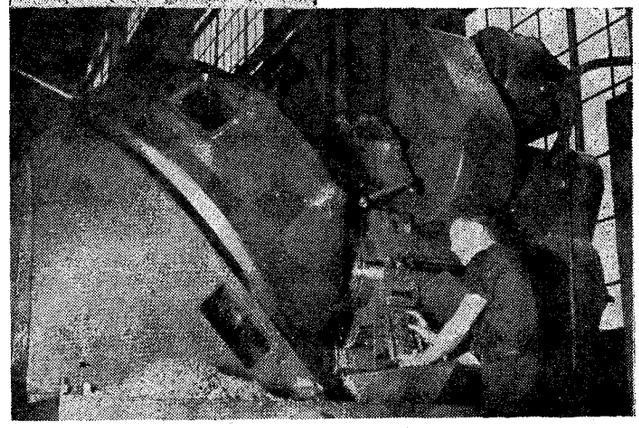
WHAT indeed has the ruling clique in Congress been up to during this crucial six-month period? Debates there have been a-plenty. But during all these weeks, the nation's legislators have devoted their main energy to five topics and to scores of inconsequential minutiæ. Here are the subjects occupying most attention in the months since the attack on Pearl Harbor:

Price Control. The urgent need to prevent inflation was relegated to the background while the Southern poll-tax group, the appeasers, the Roosevelt baiters, and the tories (including all but a handful of the Republicans) wrangled and bickered and harassed the administration. Reaction more or less divided its forces: one group concentrated on badgering Leon Henderson, price control administrator; another found ways to exempt wealthy farmers from regulation; and a third perverted the legislation into an anti-labor club. In any showdown, the three groups rallied for mutual support.

Senators Taft, Tydings, and Glass in particular led the assault on Henderson. In proposing substitution of a five-man board for a single administrator, the Taft group envisaged a decentralized authority slow to act and indecisive in policy. Price control would then be haphazard, a creaking affair sure to prove ineffectual. Herbert Hoover rushed in to bolster this position, urging a separate administrator for each price grouping, hoping to rob Henderson of all authority and to assure maximum confusion. Not to be outdone, Taft called for a ban on permanent price regulation, preferring temporary ceilings of sixty days' duration. On Hoover's suggestion, Bankhead and George came forward with an amendment giving Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, veto power over farm prices. The resulting conflict of authority with Henderson was seen as a further impediment to price control. Tydings added his fillip—he asked that all appointments to Henderson's staff be subject to Senate confirmation, which opened the way for a Red-hunt and labor-baiting.

A further battle raged over "parity"—the relationship farm prices bore to non-agricultural prices in the years 1909-14. As the bill was kicked back and forth in Congress, the so-called "farm bloc" (which in a later article I want to show is not a "bloc" and has nothing to do with farmers), extended price margins to 110 percent of parity, and insisted that farm prices be allowed to rise beyond that point if levels on Oct. 1, 1941, or for the years 1919-29 proved higher. This latter provision —the O'Mahoney amendment—was supplemented by the Bankhead amendment exempting farm commodities from Henderson's control. The Senate, still not content, raised the ante to 120 percent of parity. Administration leaders like Senator Barkley referred to the revised bill as a "farm relief measure." President Roosevelt intimated that he would veto the legisla-

While Senator O'Daniel suffered hallucinations: ". . . Our foreign enemies read of hand to hand fighting in front of our defense factories," labor achieved unprecedented output of war-stuffs through employer-employe councils.



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tion, since it compelled inflation rather than prevented it.

Only when the AFL and CIO stepped in to condemn the O'Mahoney and Taft proposals, only when the Farmers Union stated that "The Senate seeks advantages in price increases never asked for by our farmers. . . . Patriotic and unselfish farmers do not now seek personal gain through unfairly high prices"—only then were the farm program wreckers partially voted down.

The whole issue of "parity" was quite demagogic. Farm prices now average 99 percent parity. The small and middle farmers have little interest in inflating prices beyond this point. In fact, the high prices envisaged by the "farm bloc," coupled with the plot to destroy New Deal farm-relief legislation, would injure the majority of farmers more than it would help them. The resultant rise in the cost of living would limit the market for their products. All except the biggest landholders would be in danger of losing their farms. Only the largest agricultural corporations and real estate speculators stood to benefit.

The third attack was likewise demagogic. Led by Representative Gore, the reactionaries saw a chance to turn price control into a union-busting program. They eagerly called for wage-freezing. They brought Edward A. O'Neal of the American Farm Bureau to Washington where he denounced "inflationary wages." Senator Tobey made a rousing speech in which he declared: "As I see it, the objective of the bill is to prevent . . . wage increases."

The act as it finally passed Congress was condemned by President Roosevelt. The O'Mahoney and Taft amendments had been defeated, but the Bankhead amendment allowing the Secretary of Agriculture to veto prices of unprocessed products remained. Farm price levels were allowed still greater flexibility by the provision that they could rise to averages obtaining in 1919-29 if these prices exceeded 110 percent of parity. The southern poll-taxers rejoiced—cotton could be inflated. Big city milk agreements were excluded from control. And though a few of the enforcement clauses originally eliminated by the House were restored, Henderson objected that, "Everything the bill intended to help in regulating prices was whittled down so that many devices can no longer be used."

Credit for the debacle goes to *Senators "Cotton Ed" Smith, Glass, McKellar, Byrd, Nye, Bankhead, Taft, O'Mahoney, Bilbo, O'Daniel, Thomas of Oklahoma, and Tydings; Reps. Gore, Steagall, Wolcott, Cox, Dies, and Smith of Va.*

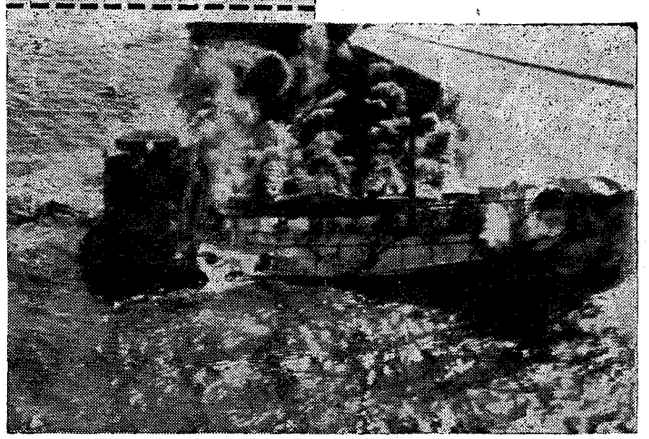
Agriculture. The "farm bloc" continued its depredations when presented with the Agriculture Department's appropriation bill. In particular, reaction singled out the Farm Security Administration, a leading New Deal agency. Through loans to small farmers, the FSA had helped over 500,000 low-income farm families to produce dairy and meat products needed by this country and our allies. FSA rehabilitation loans played an important part in the "Food for Victory" program; hard-pressed farmers were enabled to buy new tools and livestock, to pay off taxes, to obtain medical care, to plan crops and improve the fertility of the soil. FSA encouraged cooperatives; it set up sorely-needed camps for migrant workers.

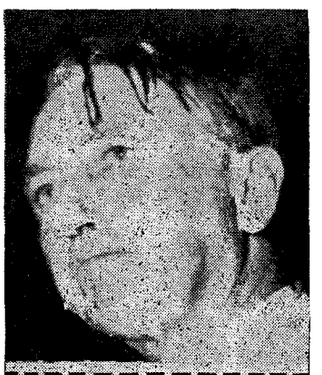
But reaction saw the FSA as "regimentation." The hatchet men got busy. Representatives Dirksen and Johns condemned soil conservation, joined by Woodrum who commented that the House should be more concerned with "erosion of our fiscal situation." In addition, Dirksen persuaded the House to cut down farm tenant aid. Representative Fulmer pleaded for the elimination of funds for migrant labor camps. The bill as it left the House was characterized by one commentator as a "noble rapping down on the underprivileged."

The excuse was "economy," and such evil-doings as the use of FSA loans by farmers to pay their poll taxes in the South. To this charge, the regional director of Alabama answered: "The FSA used federal tax money in an attempt to make voters of those now disqualified by our laws. . . . The FSA has a job of rehabilitating people in every way. It believes that citizenship is a right and the exercise of it is a duty of every American." The President approved. Byrd, McKellar, and most of the Southerners lost their tempers completely.

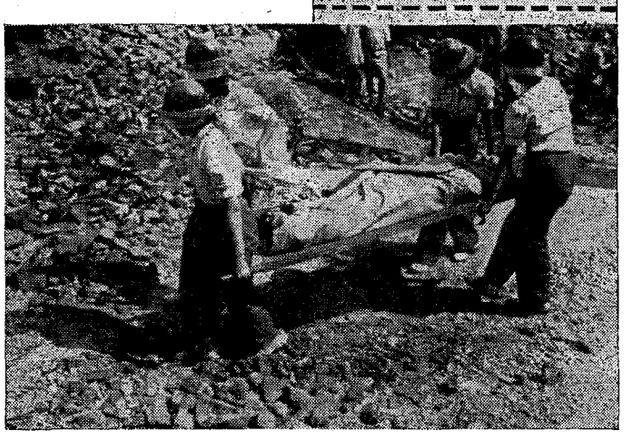
As an added slap at the administration, an amendment was tacked on to the appropriation bill forbidding the sale below parity of surplus farm products owned by the government.

While Representative Knutson assailed rationing: "Will Americans bow down to all the totalitarian decrees which will restrict their sugar, their motor cars, their oil . . .?," our tankers were being torpedoed daily.





While Senator George assailed the OCD: "A dancer appears on the stage," and shuddered at a "moving-picture actor brought here . . . to do something, God knows what," air raid wardens everywhere drilled.



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Thus the business-as-usual reaction hoped to keep grain rotting in elevators, and to balk the manufacture of industrial alcohol and synthetic rubber—products badly needed in the war effort.

The appropriation has not yet passed Congress. Even now the administration is successfully forcing restoration of most cuts. But kudos for delaying the war effort and for injuring the morale of the farmers should not be withheld from *Senators McKellar, Byrd, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Capper, Bankhead, Glass, and George; Representatives Dirksen, Case, Taber, Woodrum, Tarver, Fulmer, and Cooley.*

Civilian Defense. This tempest in a tea pot, with Mayris Chaney the excuse, was completely irrelevant, another "hate" offensive blown up to resemble a real issue. All the old demagogy once directed against WPA was brushed up for the occasion. Representative Faddis thundered the dread word "boondoggling." Dies threatened the Office of Civilian Defense with investigation. The whole purpose of the attack was to disparage Mrs. Roosevelt and through her, the President, and generally to demoralize the nation. Representative Cox gave the show away when he charged that "reform still clings like a leech." He condemned "continual coddling of Reds," warning that "weakness in our national unity is the lack of public confidence in those who are running the war machine. Many people still feel that advantage is being taken of the emergency further to socialize America." Byrd harried Dean Landis; Tydings proposed that OCD be placed under army control—something the army opposed violently.

The result of a week and more of Red-baiting and hysteria was a bill lacking sufficient funds to provide gas masks to the civilian population in danger zones, limiting fire fighting equipment, and cutting down on needed protection against air raids. The spiteful few persuaded Congress to refuse the Treasury money to pay for a Donald Duck tax movie—"the best investment the Treasury ever made," said Secretary Morgenthau. The bill carried the malicious clause against "dancers, fan dancing, street shows, theatrical performances, and other entertainment." The reactionaries were highly amused. But morale had not been bolstered. Leaders: *Senators McKellar, Tydings, George, and Glass; Representatives Cox, Faddis, Leland Ford, Hoffman, Taber, Ditter, Woodrum, and Sumners.*

Economy. The Byrd special joint committee acted as the general staff for those who at every opportunity painted the administration as shamefully improvident and wasteful. The "glib boys," as President Roosevelt called them, used "economy" as an excuse to smear CCC, TVA, NYA, the Rural Electrification Administration, and housing. "The first battle we have to win," said Byrd, "is the battle of Washington." Here are several engagements in that "battle":

Thomas of Oklahoma brought the governor of his state to Washington. Governor Phillips brandished a huge cigar and announced that once a boy worked in CCC "you won't have anything better than a third-class citizen when you're done." He added, "I have two former teachers of NYA in the penitentiary now. . . ." Senator Thomas threw up his hands and viewed the testimony as "startling." The Oklahoma administrators of CCC and NYA, however, deposed that nobody in their jurisdiction had been discharged because of court conviction, and that the governor's remarks were "wholly without justification."

Taft assailed "scores of publicity bureaus operating in Washington today . . . the people have lost confidence. . . ."

McKellar attacked CCC and NYA, claiming that the government was "mollycoddling" youth by giving them education. He blocked "wasteful" construction of Douglas Dam in the TVA system (called "vital to the war effort") because McKellar's constituent, the Stokely Canning Co., would have had to move its plant if the dam was built.

TABLE I

What Congress did December 7th-May 20th.

APPROPRIATION BILLS:
(in thousands of dollars)

Third Supplemental Defense	$ 9,283,000
National Defense	1,000,000
Naval	23,738,000
Post Office and Treasury Depts.	1,113,000
First Deficiency, 1942	163,000
Funds for China	500,000
War Dept., Civil Functions	367,000
Fourth Supplemental Defense	12,556,000
Fifth Supplemental Defense	30,412,000
Sixth Supplemental Defense	19,062,000

LEGISLATIVE BILLS:

Troop service extended, ban on AEF lifted
*First war powers bill
Draft act extended
Naval construction extended
Supplementary naval bill
Explosives regulated
Wheat market quotas regulated
Civilian defense amended
Naval personnel increased
Production of industrial alcohol regulated
Nationality act of 1940 amended
Housing act for Washington, D. C.
War daylight time approved
*Price control bill
Wire communications regulated
Naval legislation
Authorization of loan to China
Naval pay regulated
Guayale planting authorized
*Second war powers bill
Women's auxiliary in armed forces established
War insurance authorized
Debt limit of $125 billion authorized
Naval construction authorized

Housing, desperately needed in war production centers, got nowhere because it was considered "uneconomical." Nathan Straus, head of US Housing Administration, remarked that new housing could also result in cleaning out the slums. He was forced to resign soon thereafter from USHA because of his interest in slum clearance and because he opposed discrimination against Negroes.

Faddis disapproved of rural electrification and condemned WPB for "a reckless disregard for conservation of critical war materials by approving REA projects." His colleague Fitzgerald asserted that Faddis and his supporters had been subjected to "a lot of wild and careless statements by the power trust which they readily accepted as true."

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TABLE II

What the Obstructionists prevented it from doing

Passing adequate price-control legislation

Providing housing for war workers

Encouraging adequate and efficient civilian defense

Encouraging management, labor, and government joint co-operation in solving war production problems

Urging an offensive war, and the opening of a second front

Legislating against discrimination because of race, color, creed, or sex

Abolishing the poll tax

Passing anti-lynching legislation

Investigating pro-fascist activities and connections of members of House and Senate—Fish, Hoffman, Wheeler, Nye, Brooks, Sweeney, Walsh, Reynolds, etc.

Assuring basic security to workers out of jobs because of conversion

Assuring basic security to poor farmers

Assuring basic security to small businessmen

Intensifying bonds with our allies

Allocating the cost of the war fairly among all people according to the ability to pay (fair tax program)

Promoting democratic process by encouraging social services

Ringleaders of the economy junta: *Senators Byrd, McKellar, Tydings, Glass, Thomas of Oklahoma, Bankhead, Doxey, Vandenberg, Nye, Bridges, and Brooks; Representatives Ditter, Hoffman, Crawford, Cox, Martin, Taber, and Case.*

Labor. Of all themes, this was most hotly and continuously harangued. The goal was to freeze wages, freeze the open shop, cancel the forty-hour week and other labor legislation. Three days after Pearl Harbor, Hoffman spoke in favor of rigid anti-labor legislation. Byrd declared, "Labor troubles constitute a weak link in the chain of national defense." Cox cried, "'We are living under a labor government rapidly heading for a labor dictatorship, which, if not checked will soon run into a labor despotism." Nye scored labor's freedom to act in "an uncontrolled fashion," while Vandenberg warned "the public is coming to the ugly realization that the war cannot be won by fighting on a forty-hour week." Disney organized a letter campaign in Oklahoma—joined by other fake "indignation" movements—protesting the danger from the unions. The Nazi radio made much of the anti-labor speeches in Congress.

The long dreary hours of debate had no basis in reality. As the President pointed out, there existed an "amazing state of public misinformation on the whole labor situation," exploited by "sixth columnists." Responsible leaders like Nelson, Wayne Morse, Knox, Knudsen, Stimson, and others in authority opposed restrictive legislation. Senator Thomas of Utah protested: "The case of a necktie manufacturer involving thirty people is counted as equally important as a stoppage in a shipyard." Actually the man-hour time lost through strikes in January 1942 (and the record since then is approximately the same or better) amounted to 0.004 of one percent. Those who fulminated against the forty-hour week ignored WPB figures: workers in foundries and machine shops averaged 46.9 hours weekly; in airplane factories, 48.7 hours; in engine-making, 51.1 hours; in machine tools, 55 hours; and similar averages obtained in other war industries.

Other leaders of the anti-labor brigade: *McKellar, Ball, Thomas of Oklahoma, Taft, Connally, O'Daniel, and Bridges; Representatives Smith of Va., Gore, Dies, Fish, Sweeney, Starnes, Ditter, Rich, Dirksen, Sumners, Woodrum, Vinson, Hobbs, Rankin of Miss., Leland Ford, Anderson of California, Knutson, Faddis, Treadway, Case and others.*

Taxes. The wolf-pack indulged in sporadic forays against Secretary of Treasury Morganthau as a member of the administration, while agitating for a general sales tax and conspiring to saddle the greatest proportion of the war cost on those least able to pay. A large part of the dirty work was engineered behind closed doors in the House Ways and Means Committee headed by Representative Doughton, and in the Senate Finance Committee of which Senator George is chairman. Taft lamented that the administration's tax bill "just seems to go too far toward taxation of the wealthy and not far enough in the lower income group." Vandenberg expressed himself as "enthusiastic" over the prospect of a retail sales tax. Other sales tax advocates: *Senators Herring, Glass, Tydings, and Byrd; Representatives Hoffman, Treadway, Buck, Carlson, Crowther, Disney, and Duncan.*

General Mud-Slinging at anything and everything. In this category can be placed all the miscellaneous "causes" designed to undermine morale, libel our allies, handicap the administration, and hamper the war effort. Outstanding examples of petty sniping:

Dies attacked Vice-President Wallace and the Board of Economic Warfare. He Red-baited useful members of government agencies. He consistently vituperated against the Soviet Union.

Springer responded to the seven-point economic program by demanding that the President cut his salary to $25,000 a year.

Starnes attacked the Soviet Union, and opposed naturalization of the foreign-born fighting in the American armed forces who if not citizens could be shot as traitors by the enemy in event of capture.

Sumners fought compensation for civilian volunteers injured in line of duty because "we do not want to quench that spirit, put out that fire."

Tenerowicz spoke in the voice of the Ku Klux Klan to attack the Negro people during the Sojourner Truth housing episode in Detroit.

Joseph Martin, minority leader, voted consistently against the government and urged his House colleagues to do

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likewise. He proposed the appeaser Joseph Kennedy for shipping czar.

Taft and Wadsworth objected to war daylight saving time because it would make the President a "dictator."

Chandler delayed the war appropriations bill because he wanted a provision to allow him extra office help.

Tydings, Byrd, Hoffman, Maas, Mott, Knutson, and others charged that the administration had deserted the defenders of Bataan.

Wheeler sniped at the British and excoriated lend-lease.

Nor were the pro-fascists and open appeasers in both the House and Senate ever challenged—even after the trial of Hamilton Fish's secretary, George Hill. Testimony connected certain members with Nazi agents. But the defeatists and disruptionists were still allowed to confuse and ridicule. Representative Folger sarcastically remarked: "The President doesn't know . . . the Secretary of State doesn't know. . . . Nobody has any sense but me!"

SO MUCH for the leading debates. What is remarkable is that a few—and pretty much the same few—were always in the forefront. They monopolized the floor, they retained the initiative, badgered and hindered the administration and the war effort. On examination, the formal record of Congress since December 7 becomes in considerable degree the record of a few determined men.

Yet the progressives were not always silent. Certain investigating committees managed to get things done. The Senate Truman committee spurred the manufacture of synthetic rubber and gave impetus to greater war production. The House Tolan committee exposed the inefficiency of army and navy procurement, revealed the lag in conversion, helped evolve plans to speed conversion of industry to the needs of war. The Murray committee's report resulted in legislation granting aid to small business. Moreover, despite the screaming of reaction, the majority reversed previous actions eliminating funds for FSA and FCC, and crippling TVA. For all the minority agitation, the patriotic majority stopped legislation directed against the trade unions. They preserved, over the laments of the "economy" group, the government information services. Proposals for sales taxes met sharp resistence (though the fight is by no means won). NYA still functions.

The genuine supporters of the war could boast considerable victories. Quietly, the work of winning the war went forward in special committees, which uncovered facts and aided the government in solving many problems. Certainly, both the Truman and Tolan investigations did as much to end Knudsenism in war production and to transform American industry into an arsenal of democracy as any force in government. Hard-working members of Congress daily enhance the war effort. But these contributions are made for the most part off the floor of the House and Senate. Debates seldom reflect these achievements. A great part of this work does not require legislation to make it effective.

And the formal record remains, reflecting too often the will of the very few. About sixty-five representatives out of 435 —less than one-eighth of the House—dominated the debate. The proportion was higher in the Senate because of the poll-tax, but even so only one-third were conspicuous for defeatist activities. The formal record tells only part of the story. But it raises the question: How does the minority get away with it?

The answer is complex. Reaction is aided in retaining its initiative by the seniority rule which gives the poll-taxers leadership and disproportionate membership in most of the leading committees. Of the thirty-three standing Senate committees, twenty-two are important, and sixteen are headed by reactionaries. The poll-taxers command ten of all Senate committees. Similarly in the House: of forty-two standing committees, fourteen are chairmanned by poll-taxers. Three of six select and special House committees are similarly headed. The committees often initiate legislation; usually they decide what legislation shall come before Congress; and it is no surprise that progressive proposals rarely emerge, while reactionary legislation is rushed through and emphasized. The committee chairmen direct debate and often allot speaker's time on the floor. As things are now organized, the minority has the edge.

The minority couples its initiative with tactics alarmingly reminiscent of fascists everywhere. They terrorize, they bully, they intimidate. When Martin Dies shakes his finger under the noses of possible opponents to the loud approval of Hoffman, Cox, and Smith of Va., the rest of the members (with the brave exception of Marcantonio, Eliot, Coffee of Washington, and some score or so others) are inclined to lapse into silence. When Byrd roars "economy," few senators dare cross him. Reaction rides high, not because Congress is composed largely of reactionaries, but because the loud-mouthed few are allowed to dictate their will and misstate ideas in such a way that the potential opposition fears—and is often unable—to challenge them.

This inability has many causes, among them the fear of getting out of step, of being called "radical." Because the most clear cut supporters of the war and of the people's interests lack floor leadership and organization, they often fail to present a solid front to bludgeoning reaction. When Dies attacked Eliot of Massachusetts last March, the Red-baiters jumped to their feet and applauded wildly. They shouted down Eliot's attempts to answer. Unfortunately Marcantonio was sick in New York. Coffee of Washington asked one rather hesitant question before he was overwhelmed. McGranery of Pennsylvania tried to come to Eliot's aid, but got nowhere. The day went to Dies, and Representative McCormack, majority leader, complimented Dies and indicated to administration supporters that he would frown on any further opposition,

This example is quite typical. The most progressive members, personally able and courageous, overlook the need to plan strategy, to act in unison, to knit themselves into a compact group. Moreover, it is clear enough here in Washington that the majority of congressmen are by no means aware of the support they can expect from their constituents should they challenge the poll-taxers and appeasers. Labor, small businessmen, church-goers, taxpayers, home owners, housewives—citizens as a whole do not concern themselves sufficiently with this business of encouraging and bolstering their spokesmen in the legislature. But is it realistic to expect the average congressman—perhaps not particularly progressive but anxious enough to push the war effort and to back the government—is it realistic to expect him to stick his neck out unless he is given a feeling of support from his constituents? Without this backing, he will probably decide that discretion offers distinct advantages.

The record of Congress, miserable as it appears, has its encouraging aspects as I hope to show later in this series. The nucleus to reinstate Congress as a powerful force for democracy and for the prosecution of the war is clearly present—even though dormant at the moment. In subsequent articles the groupings within Congress, the forces behind these groupings, and the perspective for action will be discussed in greater detail. One thing is certain, however, from any study of Congress—the democratic process works when the people are resolved to make it work. It is completely false to indict Congress as an institution. Rather, the danger lies in electing individuals to Congress and then forgetting about them. Congress can be what the people desire it—the people have only to recognize the need to express their wishes to their representatives loudly, frequently, and firmly.

BRUCE MINTON

(with the assistance of Charles Humboldt)

A third article in this series will appear in an early issue.

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"All Together, Boys"

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That Man Bridges

Leo Huberman's profile of the man who is "more sincere in his convictions concerning democratic processes" than those who seek to deport him. His record on the waterfront. Why his men back him.

Harry Bridges and Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union

A WEEK ago today the CIO Executive Board was in session at the National Press Club auditorium in Washington. There was a special order of business to consider the petition for a charter presented by delegates from District 50 of the United Mine Workers. As the leaders from District 50 locals all over the country told of the abuses they had suffered, it became plain that the CIO must take some action to protect them from the arbitrary authority and "goon squad" tactics of John L. Lewis and his henchmen.

I asked Harry Bridges if he thought they should be given a charter. He was opposed to it for good tactical reasons. He advocated helping them, but didn't think the granting of a charter was the way out.

"Will you take the floor on the question?" I asked.

"No," he replied, "there's no use just being against something if you haven't got a better program."

That remark was characteristic of Bridges. The real Bridges —not the one who has been denounced week in and week out on the floor of Congress as the most destructive force in the United States. Not the Bridges who for eight years has been damned in newspaper editorials as a reckless, irresponsible, riotous troublemaker especially addicted to stirring up disorder and violence.

THE name of Harry Bridges became nationally known for the first time when he led the longshoremen's strike on the West Coast in May 1934. It became internationally known when the walkout of the longshoremen developed into a general strike which paralyzed San Francisco for over three days. Nothing moved. Take the silence of a New York blackout and spread it over a seventy-two hour period and you get the idea.

It was a frightening situation for the Industrial Association, the union of the great financial and industrial interests in San Francisco. They helped to organize the newspaper publishers under the leadership of the counsel for the Hearst press. The papers did a job on the strike and its leaders, while Mayor Rossi and other public officials did their bit on the radio.

What they were very careful not to emphasize was the fact that there would have been no progression toward a general strike had it not been for police violence which resulted in the death of three strikers and injuries to scores of others. It was only after law and order broke loose that the conservative San Francisco Central Labor Council voted 315 to 15 to go out in support of the longshoremen and the maritime unions.

The people of the nation were not told that. They were told fake stories that Harry Bridges was an advocate of violence, an agitator, a Red, and the cause of all the trouble. That was when the circulation of the whoppers about Bridges began. Since that time more lies have been told about Harry Bridges than about any other leader in American history.

The truth is that he does not believe in violence. He testified that, "In the 1934 strike I stood there at union headquarters with guards, and all of the men were rolled, every single man in our union to see if they had guns. We found a few, maybe, and they were thrown in the safe."

Nor is he an advocate of strikes except as a last resort—"after we have exhausted the resources of negotiation, mediation, and arbitration."

The record bears that out. Bridges' union has arbitrated constantly since the National Longshore Board, appointed by President Roosevelt, announced its award in the longshore dispute on Oct. 12, 1934. (Incidentally the settlement was a victory for the strikers—they were given a pay increase retroactive to July 31 when they returned to work, hours were cut from forty-eight to thirty per week, and hiring halls were to be jointly operated by the union and the employers.)

Under Bridges' leadership the longshore union has made labor history by being the first to incorporate into its contract with employers a commitment to *arbitrate all issues under an arbitrator appointed by the federal government.* Since 1938 any dispute that threatens a stoppage is automatically referred to the arbitrator who sits regularly one day a month for the purpose of settling all disputes. Dean Wayne L. Morse, now a member of the War Labor Board, has served as arbitrator for the past few years. He was appointed by Frances Perkins.

In December 1940 Bridges negotiated a five-year no-strike arbitration contract. Curious conduct for a man who is supposed to be a fomentor of trouble, an advocate of violence.

Dean Morse, who has learned to know and respect Bridges, was a character witness for the defense in the last hearing. On the stand Dean Morse said, "My impression of him is that he is more sincere in his convictions concerning democratic processes than many of his critics who seek to deport him."

THERE is reason for that statement. Attend a meeting of Bridges' local and you see democracy in action. No steamroller. Three microphones on the floor for quick use by any one who has something to say. One thing they won't ever say is that Bridges is getting too much money. His salary is seventy-five dollars per week. Many of his union members earn more.

If they don't like his leadership, they can get rid of him easily and quickly. He boasts that his is the most democratic union in the country. "It has been built that way. For example, I can be removed as soon as a signed petition of fifteen percent of our membership is presented, just stating the case of why

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they want me removed, and I am automatically suspended."

But they don't want to remove him. His friends in the union idolize him, his enemies respect him. Both admire his courage. They know that he means what he says, and says what he means. They have learned that no matter how great the pressure, he will never back down on what he believes is right.

His action on two recent occasions show his mettle. When Earl Browder was freed, Attorney-General Biddle had not yet announced his decision in the Bridges case. A cautious, fearful person would have reasoned that the safest course was to lie low. Why stick your neck out? Not Harry Bridges. He believed that Browder should have been freed and he said so publicly. His name headed a long list of California trade union leaders who sent a wire of congratulations to the President.

And after the Biddle deportation order he was still unafraid to speak frankly. At a statewide CIO conference in Fresno, in analyzing the decision, he said: "As to my alleged membership in the Communist party—which, by the way, I don't think would be such a disgrace these days, at least the Communist armies of Russia seem to be doing a pretty good job. . . ."

He is quick to make decisions, and once he has decided, he goes whole hog. No half-way measures for Harry Bridges. I learned that, at considerable cost, in a poker game in which I was caught between him and another trade union leader, when Harry thought he had a good hand—and bet it to the limit.

He's that way about horses, too. He fancies himself as a shrewd picker of winners and is prepared to back his choice with as much money as he has in his pocket. Even though my own few experiences in betting on his selections have not been happy ones, I must admit that he has a wide circle of acquaintances who wait until he tips them off before they place their bets. The fact that he is an old hand at the game since all Australians "play the nags" is one of the secrets of his success. But the real reason, he says, is that he applies dialectics to horse racing.

In a crap game, he makes no such claim. There he relies entirely on a lucky rabbit's foot which he rubs tenderly every time he rolls. He does more than talk to the dice. As they leave his hand, he sprawls out after them waving the rabbit foot and shouting triumphantly.

To those who have seen him stride along on the balls of his feet in his quick, nervous manner that makes him look as though he were dancing, it will not be a surprise to learn that he won first prize in a rhumba contest in a San Francisco dance. He stands up so straight that he looks taller than his five feet, eleven inches. He weighs 155 pounds—"working weight 175," he says, smiling. Everyone on the waterfront knows that before 1933 he was tops as a longshoreman—one of the "star gang." These were the ablest men on the docks. They worked steady and made the most money.

The wit and humor that make Harry a delightful companion for an evening of fun serve him well in a critical situation when he's in a tough spot. He has been known to make a dull speech on occasion—but never when it really mattered. When his back is against the wall, when the going is really rough—that's when he's at his best.

EXAMINE the record of his testimony. You will admire the way he said what he wanted to say. His was the testimony of one who spoke frankly because he had nothing to hide. If you've ever been on a witness stand, you will marvel at his forthright answers to questions concerning his views on such delicate subjects as the class struggle, the distribution of wealth, monopoly, government ownership. He pulled no punches—and he made an extremely hostile inquisitor more uncomfortable than he was himself. The best defense witness in the Harry Bridges case was Harry Bridges.

At the Detroit convention Bridges made a strong plea for nationwide adoption of the Murray Industry Council Plan as a means of aiding our war program through increased production of goods. After the convention he went to Washington where he discussed with employers' representatives, members of the Maritime Commission, and other government officials, the details of a Murray Plan for the maritime industry.

That was before Pearl Harbor. After war was declared, he returned to San Francisco with everything worked out in his head. On Friday, December 12, I was in his office and heard him dictate, at one sitting, his "Plan for Maximum Production in Maritime Transport of War Materials and Supplies."

The Bridges Plan was designed to secure "the most rapid dispatch and shortest turn-around of all ships in American ports." It was offered to the Waterfront Employers' Association of the Pacific Coast, but before it was even ratified by the employers, Bridges' union put it into effect.

The employers balked at some parts of the plan because, as one of them stated frankly in conference, "We want business-as-usual. No cut in profit. No government interference. No prying or investigating of our profits."

So Bridges modified the plan to meet all but one of their objections. He insisted that the third person on the union-employer industry council be an official government representative. He wanted the coordinator or "czar" of West Coast shipping to have real power.

Bridges and his union gave up a great deal to secure the adoption of this plan to speed up loading. They even agreed to the suspension of the working rules which the men had fought, struck, and died to attain. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is in deadly earnest about defeating fascism and winning the war.

ON THE East Coast, where there is no coordinator of shipping, no Bridges Plan, and no Bridges leadership, the waterfront cargo-handling situation is a scandal. Testimony supported by sworn affidavits has been presented to a congressional committee by Joe Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, charging that there has been such faulty loading that in one instance a ship split in half; in other instances ships had to return to port because of the danger from shifting cargo. On the East Coast where men are put on the job through the vicious "shape-up" system, the loading is so bad that charges of deliberate sabotage have been made.

On the West Coast where there is a coordinator of shipping, a Bridges Plan, and a militant patriotic union under Bridges' leadership, the waterfront situation is a model of efficiency and speed in loading. (British ports are adopting the Bridges Plan.) The union has broken all records time and time again. Naval officials commended its magnificent performance.

Eight years ago Harry Bridges led his men in a fight to win dignity and self-respect and a measure of economic security. They won that fight. Where formerly most of the men averaged about $550 a year, today over half of them earn between $2,000 and $3,000. Where in 1933 a government survey stated, "At the present time a very conservative estimate would probably place more than fifty percent of all the longshoremen on the relief rolls," a government survey completed in 1939 said, "Few longshoremen now apply for emergency relief in San Francisco."

But most important of all the things they won was the union-controlled hiring hall. That brought order out of chaos. In peacetime the role of this (and other progressive unions) is to win benefits for its members directly, and for the nation indirectly. In wartime the opposite is true. Bridges' union, through its discipline and leadership, benefits the nation directly and its members indirectly.

The government has contended that the object of the deportation laws is "to protect the citizen and the welfare of the country." Few men in our history have done, and are doing, so much for the people of the United States as Harry Bridges. By the same token, unless the deportation order is rescinded, few men will have done the people of the United States so much harm as Attorney-General Francis Biddle.

LEO HUBERMAN.

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"Can Do!" Says the Coast

Did you know that a 10,000-ton ship was turned out in forty-four days, establishing a world's record? How it was done. What happened to shipbuilding and plane production on the West Coast.

Los Angeles.

"WE DEDICATE our lives to liberty. The Navy wants more ships. We workers in the yards answer 'Can do!'"

It was Jimmy Capiello, Tacoma-Seattle shipyard worker, speaking. In the name of his fellow workers he accepted the coveted Navy "E" pennant for sliding a destroyer down the ways five weeks ahead of schedule. Can do! That is the spirit of the Pacific Coast shipbuilding industry. Today it is setting the pace and the outstanding yard in the country is the Richmond Shipbuilding Corp., which has been bowling over long-standing records with astonishing consistency.

An example was this yard's recent launching of the big freighter, *Ocean Veteran,* from keel-laying to commissioning, ready for crew and cargo within ninety days. Ordinarily this would require anywhere from six months to a year. In commissioning the *S S Zachary Taylor,* a 10,000 ton Liberty ship, in forty-four days after launching, the same yard was credited by the US Maritime Commission with establishing another all-time record.

The astonishing thing is that the Richmond yard is a newcomer in the ship-building field and is working with a comparatively raw crew —with "former butchers, barbers, bakers, opera singers, legislators, interior decorators, farmers, lawyers, automobile salesmen. . . ." But modern production methods, and especially the teamwork of management and men made possible by one of the first functioning joint production committees on the coast, have brought production miracles to pass. James R. Moore, vice-president of another west coast yard, Moore Drydocks of Oakland, in a symposium with California CIO director Harry Bridges, which was broadcast over a national hookup, characterized the labor-management committees as "the new, the different, the imaginative approach" needed to solve our "staggering" production problems. And only a year ago this company and the union were fighting each other in a bitter strike which was finally broken by armed Navy men protecting scabs!

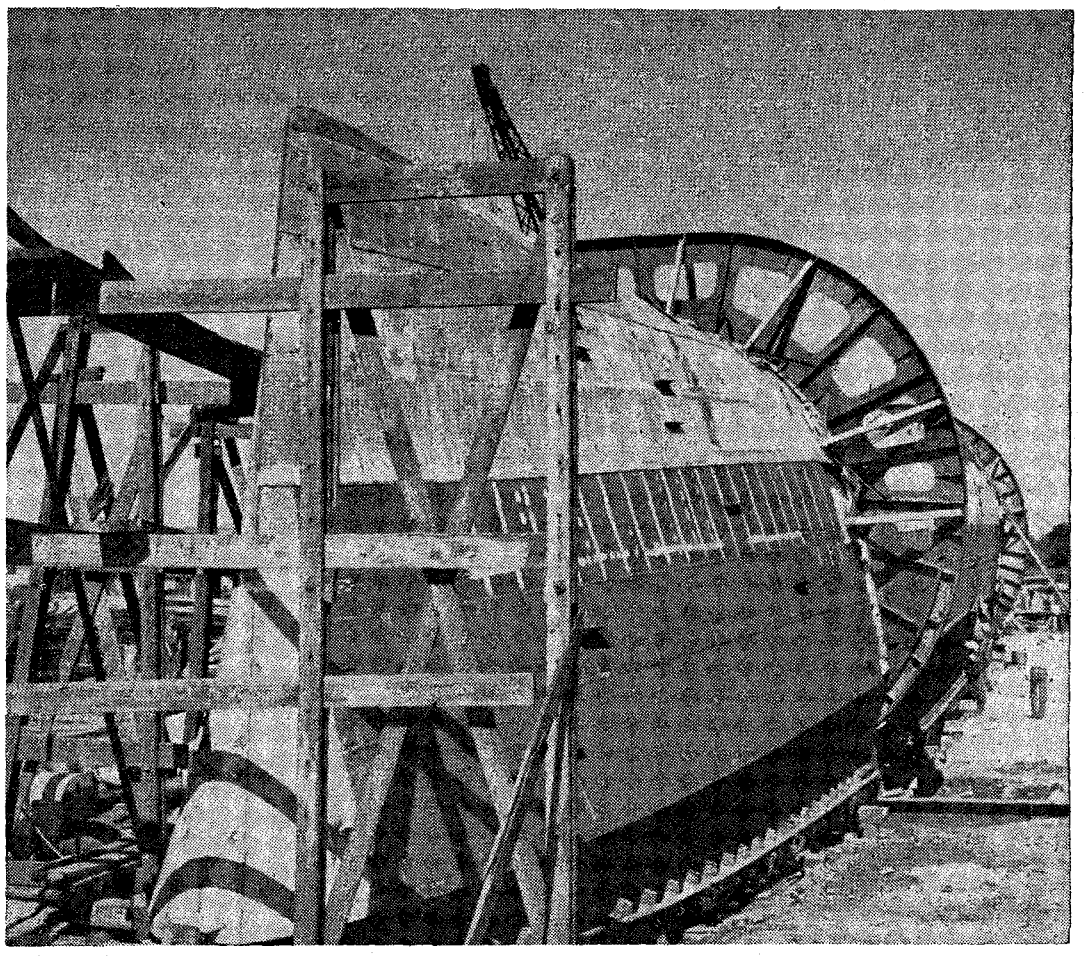
IN AVIATION the story has been very much the same. Doubling of the production of the incomparable Flying Fortresses within a few months after Pearl Harbor indicates the trend. Here too an important factor has been labor-management cooperation, a point stressed by Philip G. Johnson, president of the Boeing Aviation Co., in an interview on the AFL-CIO "Labor for Victory" radio program.

All of which is a heartening change from the situation only two or three months ago. There was at the time a wave of rumors, stories, and "inside reports" regarding the supposed serious shortcomings of West Coast production. Danger of demoralization among workers as a result of this wild talk forced an Army representative to issue a sharp warning against "oral sabotage." The recent improvements are undoubtedly due in large degree to the increasing acceptance by management of the principle of cooperative production laid down by Donald Nelson on March 3. The companies were—and to some extent remain—slow on the pickup in endorsing the joint production committees proposed by the WPB chief in his tradition-shattering speech. The conferences that were held at the time by a subcommittee of the WPB in Los Angeles and San Francisco were marked by an almost complete lack of participation by management. And some of the workers' representatives also approached the Nelson proposals with considerable suspicion.

Considering the great traditional obstacles that had to be overcome by the Nelson plan, progress during the three months of its functioning has been encouraging. A majority of the shipyards on the West Coast have already established joint committees. Also, with Harry Bridges taking the lead, the longshoremen and waterfront employers, pioneers in the field, have accomplished wonders in reducing the unloading and reloading time of ships.

The aviation industry of southern California has moved more slowly. The first great break came only a few weeks ago with the formation of a joint union-management committee at the North American Aviation Corp. The North American company is noted for its up-to-date methods among airplane companies, which enabled it during 1941 to return $14,000,000 to the government through savings on production costs. Vultee, likewise a pioneer in the introduction of mass production techniques in aviation, has been working rather informally with a United Auto Workers-CIO production committee for several months.

Other aviation companies have been more backward in carrying out the Nelson program. Douglas Aircraft, the last important non-union holdout on the coast, has established a "joint" committee whose effectiveness has been marred by the fact that labor has no legitimate representation on it. Nevertheless, this corporation has made $1,500 a month available for awards to be given workers for



Upside down shipbuilding methods: one of the new time-saving developments

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original production ideas. The company admitted recently that such ideas have in the past been responsible for improvements "equivalent to the work of 250 men."

Of great importance was the formation several weeks ago of a council by the eight major aircraft manufacturers of California. This is serving as a "clearing house" to help eliminate production snags and bottlenecks through exchanging parts and materials "wherever possible." Labor had been proposing something along this line for months. An example of the kind of bottlenecks that need to be cracked: during the height of the Japanese attack on the East Indies, completed Lockheed-Vega planes destined for Australia were held up for lack of engines when a batch of exactly the needed type were lying unused at the Douglas plant just a few miles away. But there was no agency to bring air-frames and motors together. Or there is the kind of selfish individualism recently cited by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold: a company holding a patent on an important "gadget"—a hollow type screw fastener—kept scores of otherwise completed planes here and elsewhere in the country grounded.

ON THE other side of the production front the split in aviation labor's ranks due to the existence of two competing unions, the UAW-CIO and the International Union of Machinists (AFL), has been to some extent bridged by the establishment of a "unity for victory" committee as part of the remarkable unity movement among organized labor that has spread up and down the coast, from Seattle to San Diego. One of the first acts of this committee was to call on the government to initiate a basic conference among employers, unions, and Army and Navy representatives to work out plans for increasing production of fighting planes.

There still remains the problem of bringing the whole cooperative program closer to the rank and file. A large number of workers are still in the dark about it and even if they have some general idea of what it's about, they may not know exactly where they fit in. The Nelson office has worked out excellent suggestions for popularizing the plan with the man at the bench. These include such features as scoreboards, posters, suggestion boxes, bulletin boards, literature tables, prizes, surveys of idle machinery, and slogan contests. However, there is still much to be done to encourage participation of the workers in the solution of actual production problems. There seems to be an inclination to shy away from "too many subcommittees" and to rely chiefly on suggestion boxes to encourage workers' ideas. There is seemingly a fear that chaos would result if the production plan were broken down too finely. Just the opposite is true, as has been demonstrated in a number of cases. The most spectacular example of this on the West Coast has been the joint committee in the important sheet metal fabricating department of the Vega Aircraft Co. This committee was set up at the initiative of union members and with the cooperation of the department supervision the day following Pearl Harbor. It has been responsible for a close to 100 percent increase in production. Yet despite this record, the company has thus far refused to spread the idea to other departments.

Though the unions have led the way in stimulating production, they have not always been as farsighted as they should be. Strong remnants of "unionism as usual" still remain among some of them. There is also a tendency to throw up hands in disgust because of the reluctance of some companies to adopt the Nelson plan, and this has often obscured the steady education of employers to an acceptance of the plan. A number of unions have also done too little in acquainting their members with the production program, confining themselves to narrow bread-and-butter considerations.

Yet despite all difficulties, Pacific Coast production is forging rapidly ahead. The people in this part of the nation are aware of their extraordinary responsibilities. And the great majority of them are responding in the spirit of the Tacoma-Seattle shipyard worker: "Can do!"

BERT TALCOTT.

PRESS PARADE

Doin' the Cliveden Crawl

Doff the war,
put off the war,
latch it, cache it,
stow it, elbow it,
kick it, trick it,
store it, ignore it,
bored with it,
overboard with it;
donkey-pin it,
Mickey Finn it,
anything but win it.

Eve Merriam.

The Military Experts

WE are indebted to the New York "Post" for reminding us that on June 20, 1941, Charles Augustus Lindbergh told a meeting in the Hollywood Bowl:

"The area, the terrains, and the climatic conditions of Great Britain are not advantageous for flying. Enemy air bases on the continent of Europe curve around her in almost a semi-circle. No matter how many fighting planes we build in America and send to England, it is not possible to base enough squadrons in the British Isles to equal in striking power the squadrons that Germany can base on the continent of Europe. English cities and industrial areas are within easy reach of enemy bombers, while British bombers must fly much farther to reach similar enemy objectives."

". . . the initiative in the Kharkov sector was passing, as expected, to the Nazis."—Hanson W. Baldwin, New York "Times," May 24, 1942.

"The Germans claim the victory because their flank attack stopped the Russian drive before Kharkov had fallen. . . . But at all times they were on the defensive. Their violent counter-attacks from Barvenkova were only part of this defense, a defense imposed on them from the beginning."—Editorial in the New York "Times," June 2, 1942.

Fletcher Pratt, the I-too-read-a-few-books military "expert," has not been missed from the New York "Post" since his last article appeared on May 8. Fact is that article, in which he announced that the battle of the Coral Sea was "a defeat, a bad one," for our side won him a permanent vacation by request. This was on a par with Pratt's feat of last June when he singlehanded annihilated the Red Army. The "Post" waited eleven months too long.

Mr. Pound's Sympathizers

"Mr. Pound [Ezra] and his English wife, the former Dorothy Shakespear, are now forced to live entirely on the poet's earnings from his propaganda broadcasts for the Italian government, Miss Horton said. As their income from the broadcasts is not very large, she continued, the Pounds find it necessary to live carefully. . . .

"Pound told Miss Horton that he attempted to return to the United States last year to lecture on Fascism, of which he is an ardent convert, but he was unable to get transportation. He told her that he had several sympathizers among members of the United States Senate whom he met on his last visit to this country in 1939."

New York "Herald Tribune."

Confusion Department

"THE greatest outburst of applause greeted the name of Robert Bridges, now under deportation order as a Communist. . . ."—New York "Times," June 4. Robert Bridges was a poet and he's dead. The man whom Attorney General Biddle is trying to deport has plenty of poetry in him, but his name is Harry and he's a labor leader and very much alive.

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SPAIN IS WAITING

by General Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros

Mexico City. (By mail)

WE ARE to expect in the next few weeks the most important and strongest military operations of this war. The German General Staff will logically aim at one of two principal objectives, the occupation of Moscow, Leningrad, and Murmansk or an attack on the south—primarily aimed to establish contact with the Japanese.

If the first of these two objectives were achieved, Hitler would have dealt a very serious moral and material blow at the Soviet Union. He would have cut the northern road of supplies and would have some excellent bases at his army's disposal for next winter's campaign. These would make up in part for the lack of winter quarters.

The second great objective, the attack through the south, can be attempted following three different directions: through the southern Soviet front, through Turkey, or through Cyrenaica and Egypt in Africa. Success in any of these three would lead to the same result—the possession of the oil wells and a juncture with the Japanese. Any one of these three roads has both advantages and disadvantages. The first road, that is, the road through the Caucasus, has for the Germans one very great advantage besides that of concentrating their forces on the Stalino-Rostov front; the rapid acquisition of oil which they so urgently need. There is only one obstacle for the Germans along this route, the Red Army.

The second road, through Turkey, can be either plain sailing or full of storms, according to whether or not the Turks decide to defend themselves. If the Turks, as is to be expected, defend their territory, they can hold the Nazis or at least slow down their advance considerably until Soviet, British, and American reinforcements can reach them. If Turkey gives way before the Nazis without fighting, Hitler will find himself owner of another country with all its resources and the German divisions placed without a shot on the borders of Syria, Iraq, and Iran—three countries easy to occupy.

Lastly, the attack through Cyrenaica for the control of the Suez Canal, if successfully completed, would give the Germans such clear advantages that it is hardly necessary to point them out. One of the most important would be the absolute control of the Mediterranean. With Suez in the hands of the Nazis, the British fleet would be bottled up without harbors, as Malta is notoriously inadequate. The Mediterranean fleet at the Valetta would present a perfect target for Axis planes. The Straits of Gibraltar can be closed by Franco as soon as Hitler orders him to do so. The Italian fleet, combined with the Japanese and the French ships turned over by Laval to the Axis, will have a decided superiority in the Indian Ocean. This combined naval strength would make landings of Axis troops possible anywhere in Asia and in East Africa. By thus interrupting the present roads of supplies, the situation would be changed in Asia and Africa in favor of the Axis.

These are the probable military operations which Hitler will undertake in the next few weeks. He has no other way out but to stake all his resources on one of these three objectives—reaching one of them is a matter of life or death. That is why a renewed powerful Axis attack should be expected.

WHAT can the democracies do to prevent or counter this blow? The answer is relatively simple. Place all their might and their resources into the coming struggle; understand the gravity of the situation and open a second front.

England and the United States must not doubt that the peoples of Europe under Hitler's terror anxiously await an opportunity to turn against their oppressors. The landing forces of the United Nations anywhere in Nazi-trodden Europe are sure to find the support of countless civilians who, together with the landing troops, can obtain a decisive victory.

Not to establish a second front now would be suicidal.

The Red Army has shown the world that the Nazis are not invincible. The Soviet people have also proved that when a country is really willing to fight, it does not take stock of its sacrifices nor count its losses. The Red Army, fighting alone since June not only against the powerful German forces, but against Italian, Czech, Rumanian, Finnish, Hungarian, etc., troops as well, has been able to withstand their heaviest blows and throw them back. The world has regained faith in victory and the conquered nations reach once more for freedom. All this the Soviet Union has achieved through enormous sacrifices, placing everything at stake. It is only natural that these sacrifices be shared by all the United Nations, since all face a common peril and all have a common interest in assuring victory this year.

Where to open this second front? This is something the High Commands and General Staffs of the United Nations will have carefully studied. They are the ones to decide.

But this second front must be a land front. Bombardments, however strong and continuous, cannot solve the present critical situation. Of course, air attacks can be extremely effective; they can cause great damage and keep busy part of the enemy's air forces which would otherwise be used at the front. But *air power alone will not stop Hitler.*

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SPAIN is called to play an important role in the present war. The chief reason why she has not yet done so is simply that until now this did not suit the plans of Hitler or the German General Staff. As soon as they consider it useful to their plans, Spain will take an open part in the war. Franco's allegiance is decidedly to the Axis and he makes no bones about it, either. It is only at the Foreign Office in London and at the Washington State Department that Franco is made to appear as a "possible" friend, if properly pampered, or at the worst, as a neutral.

It is to be hoped that the British General Staff has foreseen all the contingencies of Spain's being drawn into the war as an Axis partner. Nevertheless, the studies of the British General Staff—at their best—may have overlooked the great and decisive help the anti-fascist Spanish people might lend to the United Nations. Should Spain enter the war on the side of the Axis, the entire course of the global struggle may be altered by whether or not we consider the role of the Spanish people.

The strategic situation of Spain, Spanish Morocco, the Canary Islands, and the Spanish possessions in the African Sahara will force the war to these territories. The shortest route from Europe to Dakar and Brazil passes through 1,200 kilometers of Spanish Rio de Oro (West Africa). In that little known Spanish colony is to be found the base of Villa Cisneros, excellent both for sea and land planes.

Ceuta, Tangier, and Melilla in Spanish Morocco are necessary for the control of the Straits of Gibraltar and are also the natural route for all armed forces on the way south toward Dakar or east toward Tunisia and Egypt.

One of the blows which sooner or later Hitler must strike at Britain is an attack on the Rock. This will probably be attempted as a surprise, taking advantage of a time when some important convoy is refueling in the harbor or when large numbers of the Mediterranean fleet are in Gibraltar. The consequences of such an attack are easy to foresee. It can become Britain's Pearl Harbor and close the Straits of Gibraltar to the passage of all ships of the United Nations.

The Rock can hold for a long time, no doubt, if the British really defend it. But the batteries at Ceuta and along the African coast to Tangier, as well as the Spanish coastal batteries around Tarifa, will prevent the passage of all ships to and from the British Isles. The Axis naval and air forces, with excellent bases in the neighborhood, can lend powerful help. The batteries placed on the Sierras around Gibraltar can be used to destroy the ships inside the harbor. Together with air force support, they would suffice to launch an attack that might be disastrous to the British Navy.

Britain and the United States should not be blind to the fact that Franco is their enemy. Nor should they forget that the anti-fascist people of Spain are ready to become their most steadfast allies in the struggle against Hitlerism. Britain and the United States should stop treating Spanish anti-fascists as if they were enemies. Is it not time that these countries drew the proper conclusions from the fact that the Spanish people were the first to take up the fight against the Axis and for almost three years waged with incredible courage the struggle against the enemies of mankind?

GEN. IGNACIO HIDALGO DE CISNEROS.

Our Reserves and Hitler's

Ludwig Renn, author of "War," continues discussion on "The Case for the Western Front."

Mexico City (by wire)

EXPERIENCE from the first world war has proved the enormous importance of the strategic reserves. The army that has no more reserves loses the battle, and maybe, even the war. The recognition of this fact forced both sides to accumulate more and more reserves, until at last there were millions of men behind the front. Every American remembers 1917-18 when 3,000,000 Americans were shipped to Europe. When this enormous reserve, together with the French and English reserves, was put into the struggle in the summer of 1918, Germany broke down in three months.

These big strategic reserves are the key to the understanding of both the first and second period of the Nazi-Russian war. At the end of the first period, when Hitler stood before Leningrad, Moscow, and the Caucasus, he announced that there were no more Soviet reserves. But it was at this moment that Stalin put, for the first time, his strategic reserves into the struggle and so checked Hitler. With this, the second period of this war began. It consisted on the side of the Allies of two preparations—first, the practical instruction of the Russian guerrillas in large-scale guerrilla fighting behind the Nazi front, and secondly the accumulation of reserves both in the Soviet Union and in the Anglo-Saxon powers. We don't know the exact number of the Soviet reserves but they certainly consist of some millions of men. In England there are 2,000,000 and in the United States more than 3,000,000. Thus altogether there are between 7,000,000 and 10,000,000 men, a reserve mankind had hitherto never even considered. Germany, on the other hand, has at least 1,500,000 strategic reserves, but no more than 2,500,000. And with superiority on the side of the Allies, why are these men not put into the struggle?

There are some reasons why. A Russian winter is very difficult for large-scale fighting. Moreover, the United States had few trained men, and almost none with experience in mechanized warfare. But now the winter is over. There is a larger proportion of well trained men in the American and English armies. And too with a superiority of manpower and materiel, a second front can now be opened.

OF COURSE, England is already bombing Germany and very heavily. But that is not enough. The bombs destroy industry, disorganize the traffic and distribution system, but bombing towns does not destroy the Nazi army. The masses of tanks, artillery, and infantry remain in the Ukraine. Hitler's strategic reserves are not touched by the Western bombings.

But the moment Americans disembark in Le Havre, Dieppe, Bergen, Stavanger, or other French and Norwegian ports, Hitler must move great parts of his reserves to France and Norway. He must, as far as possible, equal them in manpower. Once these men are fixed in trenches, they are no longer reserves. But the landing forces of the English and Americans will continue to grow and Hitler will at last have fixed his last man. Thus, with still some millions of men behind the Allies, the moment for a breakthrough will have come. This would find no Nazi reserves to check it and there is the end.

LET us consider now the other possibility that the US-British armies remain inactive in their home countries. Would then the war be lost? I think not. The Soviet Union alone can destroy the Nazi reserves, but then she must, as she did in Kharkov, sacrifice about the same manpower as the Nazis. That means that 2,500,000 Soviet soldiers must be killed or wounded to destroy 2,500,000 of the Nazi reserves. Anyone who considers this must therefore be for the second front. This second front means a great initial effort but afterwards relatively few losses. And then victory is very near.

LUDWIG RENN.

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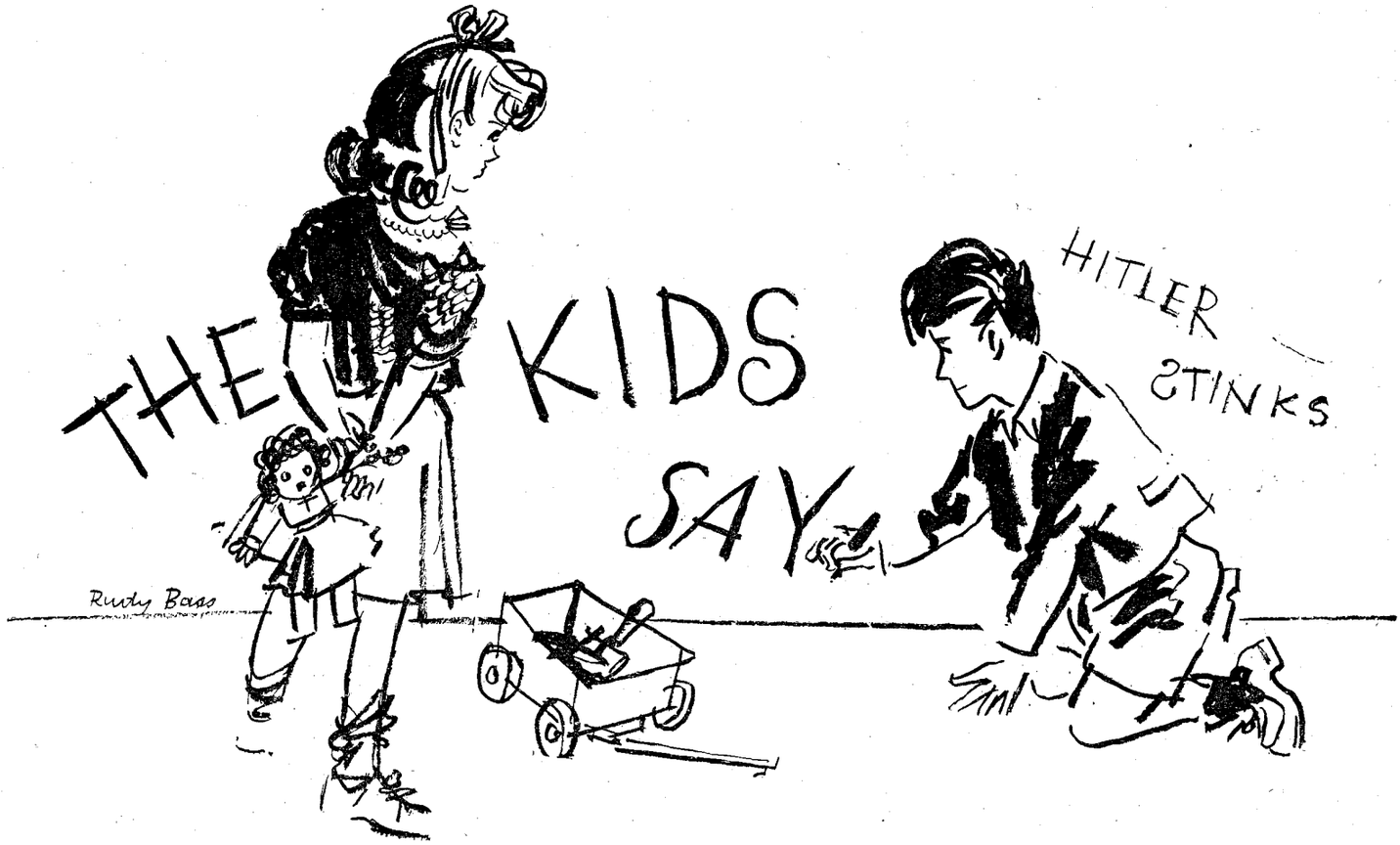

THE kids jump rope in the sunny streets and they sing:

Heigh ho, heigh ho
Hitler stinks, you know.

Or, in the playground, they make a ring and sing in peeping chorus:

A tisket, a tasket
Hitler's in his casket
Eeni, meeni, Mussolini—
He should be there too.

Sometimes, with the wish that's in their hearts for an end to war, they rhyme:

Heigh ho, ho hee—
We're back from Germany
We wiped the place with Hitler's face
Heigh ho, ho hee.

Or

Heigh ho, ho hee—
We're back from Italy
We socked Mussolini
On his beanie
Heigh ho, ho hee.

Not such wonderful rhymes. But they aren't bent on perfection, the kids with their stockings falling down. The war's in their insides like something they ate and it comes out in rhyme, so what?

Sometimes, it comes out in wise cracks:

"Hey, Mutty, ya know what? We can't eat no pop corn any more."

"Why?"

"Because the kernel's in the army. Hah, hah."

Or:

"Hey, Hymie. Wanna hear a joke? Why can't we chop trees no more?"

"Why, wise guy?"

"Because the axes are in the Pacific. Hah, hah." Or:

"Hey, Poopelie, know what I heard? Guess what."

"What?"

"The Japs are bombing the Navy Yard."

"Ya fulla crap."

"No foolin'. They walked across the Brooklyn Bridge eatin' peanuts and the shells dropped down."

Hah, hah. Hee, hee! The kids laugh, smack each other around, screech. Can *you* laugh at what kids laugh at? Slapstick. A funny face. To conceal fear?

To conceal fear. Sometimes they talk out of the side of their mouths:

"Hey, Butch, ya know what I saw? We were out driving and I see anti-aircraft guns in a cemetery. Gee, that's convenient, huh? Just shoot 'em down and bury 'em. Easy, huh?" Or:

"Them marines. Boy! One of them can kill four Japs any time. You just multiply that by 30,000 and what do you get? Gee, pretty soon there won't be any Japs left, will there?" Or:

"Hey, Jerk, why do you buy defense stamps, huh?"

"I give up."

"To lick the other side, stupid." Or:

"Know why Germany can't win?"

"I bite."

"It's on an axis, see? Anything on an axis spins. Anything that spins gets dizzy. When you're dizzy you don't know what you're doing. When you don't know what you're doing, you're—licked. See?"

"Hah, hah—"

THE kids laugh till they bust. And then they talk. About Russia, for instance. You think kids think up the screwy things in some of their pops' heads about Reds? Not on your life. Listen:

"Hey, what do you think about this sugar getting sent to Russia?"

"Ya mean for gunpowder?"

"Yeah."

"I think it's okay. We can do without sugar, can't we?"

"Yeah, but can we do without cakes and candy? What do you think?"

"Why not? You can always have an apple, can't you?"

Of course. It's simple ABC to a kid. Logic. Once he knows what for, he'll give up his shirt, a kid will. If you tell him what for. If you break it nice and easy. Tell him that sailors die because Pop wants Sunday gas and he'll never step into a car again. Kids are sensible.

"Ya gotta hand it to them."

"Who?"

"The Germans."

"Why?"

"They're so highly mechanized. . . . I hear they're using reflectors to see the Russians."

Do they know what they'll get out of the war?

Yes and no: Listen: "Me? I'll get a twenty-five-dollar defense bond, I guess." Or: "I'm gonna get liberty. Not rich and not poor. But I'll have what I want—ride on my bicycle when I want to and so forth." Or: "I'll be free—that's all." Or: "When I grow

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up maybe I'll be strong. One of my friend's brothers is in the army and he's giving me exercises to make me strong."

Meanwhile, they play. Games. War games. *Japanese tag:* "You're it." *It* means a Japanese. Nobody wants to be one. And they run like hell down the gutter, up the steps, to tap the other guy *it.*

Or *Three Steps to Germany:* One sidewalk is Germany. The sidewalk on the other side of the street is Russia or the United States. The kids line up on the Russian sidewalk. The leader yells:

"You may take six big steps to Germany."

"May I?"

"Yes, you may."

The line moves up. Stealing is allowed if you can get away with it. First one to the German sidewalk wins. This game is also called *Get to Tokyo.*

I Declare War: Everybody in the gang gets a name. "You're Russia. You're United States. You're Great Britain. YOU're Germany."

"Aah, I don't wanna. I don't wanna be Germany."

"Well, ya gotta."

"I wanna be China."

"Okay. You be Australia. All set?"

One boy picks up the ball. He yells, "I declare war on—Japan." He drops the ball quick and runs. So does everybody else. Japan picks up the ball, yells STOP. Everybody freezes in flight—behind trees, poles, autos, shrubs, if they're lucky. Japan aims, throws the ball to hit. The boy hit is It.

And when they get tired out playing, they sit down and talk again. It goes on and on—on street corners, in cellars, in school yards, on the curb.

"My grandmother, she lives in Chicago and my mother says if the army takes my daddy, I'm gonna go stay with my gramma. But my mommy wants my daddy to stay home with her. But if daddy has to go, you know what my mommy's gonna do? She's gonna ask them to make her a Red Cross nurse so she can go along with my daddy." And:

"My father's gonna be a good fighter. Ya know why I know? Because every time he hits my sister he makes her cry. He's gonna make Hitler cry too when he gets angry."

"I'm gonna be a nurse. I really wanted to be a cook so I took up cooking. But in my cooking class all they talked about was war, war, war. So the peanut brittle never turned out. So now I may as well be a nurse."

"I'm not scared of war. Naah. Why should I? There so many air raid wardens and the sand on the roof there. I feel safe, honest. In the beginning that drill there scared me when I heard the si-reen and all that. But now I know what it's all about. When the bell rings you take a table, see, and you go behind it. One time I stood there so long the teacher hadda bawl me out."

"My father's in the war. He ain't far from Berlin. He's gonna kill Hitler. I know. I hope he's got a knife with him. He's got a gun with a knife in it. He's gonna stab Hitler."

LISTEN to this talk between a bright five-year-old and her daddy inside an air raid post. It's a sort of inverted Baby Snooks conversation: Daddy is asking why.

"Ooo, Daddy, I'm so happy we're part of the war. War can't come to us, Daddy. Maybe war could come to us but it can't kill us."

"Why, dear?"

"Because we're part of the war, see, Daddy? Because we're Americans, Daddy. Nobody can kill us because we're America."

"Why, honey?"

"Daddy! You know why. I just told you. Because we're part of the war. Would Germany kill me in, if I'm part of the war?"

"What does kill mean, lovey?"

"I can't never see my friends any more. I'll be died."

"Dead, dear? What is dead?"

"Guns have die. Even there's bullets in Germany's thing. But when we're America and our gun be part of the war, Daddy, then we can scare Germans and take away his bed, see?"

"Who are Germans, dear?"

"Nazis, of course. They take countries and houses. But they can't take our house, Daddy. Because you're a fine air raid warden. They take only baby twinkle houses. Our house is big. . . . Ooo, Daddy!"

"Yes, dear. What is it?"

"Mussolini—is she bad?"

"He's a man, doll."

"Mussolini—piuy. Piuy. Piuy. . . . Oooh, Daddy, if I heard if he was gonna come here. I'd be . . . Uh-uh, Daddy. If I heard Germany was gonna come here. Oooooh! . . . He'd kill us so hard we wouldn't know what place we are, Daddy. I'd be un-spirit . . . Daddy, let me sit in your lap, may I, Daddy? . . . The Germans are gonna come Monday, won't they, Daddy?"

"Monday? How can they get here, honey?"

"O—walk over. You know Hitler has a big army."

"What is an army?"

"O army boys. They march."

"And what else?"

"O stand in their place two by two. . . . Ooooh, Daddy, I'm such afraid of Hitler that . . . (in a whisper) I'm gonna spit at him. I'll spit in his face, Daddy. I'll spit in his eye and I'll kick on his too-too. (Giggling) I'm not gonna be scared of that kick-in-the-too-too Germany. I'm not even a-scared, Daddy. See? (Yelling) I'll pump and I'll stump and I'll dump and I'll clump and . . . (elated) Daddy, are we gonna be free, sweet Daddy? Do you think we're gonna be free?"

"Yes—when we beat Hitler, honey."

"Then we'll be free? And I won't have to wear leggings no more, sweet Daddy? Ooo, Daddy . . . I want to fight Hitler too. I want to beat him. You should get me an arm band, Daddy. Then I can be part of the war like you. . . . Oooh, Daddy, you're so sweet—I love you so much—you're the best air raid warden in the world."

This five-year-old doesn't sound scared only. She sounds fighting mad too. She sounds confident. Maybe it's because her daddy is helping her that way.

You grownups, keep your ears open. Listen to the kids. Talk to them about bombs and blackouts. You may as well. They're talking about them anyway. They've got war on their minds. They talk, joke, play, argue war.

If you're scared of it yourself, tell them you're scared. The kids'll help you out. If you're not scared, tell them why not.

They want to know.

This is the kids' war too.

WILL RIVERS.

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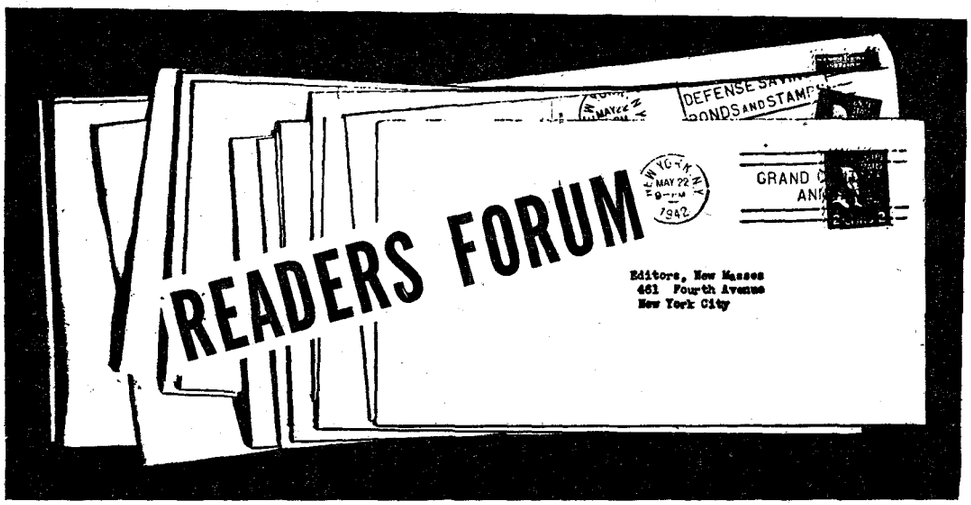

More on the Second Front

TO NEW MASSES: Your issue on "How to Win the War in 1942" was very stimulating. You ask for my comment on "a second front in Western Europe." It would appear that the raids on Cologne and Essen mark the opening of such a front. Not being a military expert, I must leave the precise mechanics of such operations to those entrusted with that responsibility.

HENRY EPSTEIN,
Solicitor General, Department of Law, State of New York.

Albany.

TO NEW MASSES: I have read your special issue, "How to Win the War in 1942," with satisfaction. I congratulate you on producing such a convincing plea for a second front in Western Europe. You are rendering an important public service. I am sure that our men in the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force are eager to take advantage of this great opportunity.

WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN.

New York.

TO NEW MASSES: In the May 26 issue of NEW MASSES you have three maps of Europe on which the potential invasion points have been indicated. One of the points is Trondheim, which has been well fortified by the Nazis against sea attack, and it is my bet that it will never be taken from the sea side. Permit me to suggest one point, which seems to be overlooked by everybody else, and it is Murmansk.

A British or a US expeditionary force, which should include Norwegian troops now located in Britain, should be landed in Murmansk. The convoy should follow a wide arc route via Iceland, south coast of Spitsbergen, west coast of Novaya Zemlya, and approach Murmansk from the east. This force should be large enough to be able to deploy behind the present front for about 100 miles southward from the Arctic coast.

When it is ready, it should launch an offensive westward, assisted during the initial stage by the Red artillery and Air Force. The left flank should be protected by the Red Army, and when it has reached the Swedish border, the Allied front would be in two sections, one facing south to be held by the Red Army, and the other facing west, to be pushed further by the Allies.

This would isolate Finland from Norway, and by this time the port of Petsamo and Nazi fortified points on the coast of Arctic Norway could be attacked and taken from the rear. The offensive should continue southward and the Nazi coastal points, including Trondheim, taken from the rear.

If the Nazis should send reinforcements to stem this northern offensive by drawing troops from their western continental area, it would facilitate the Allies to invade France; if from the Soviet front, it would help the Red Army in its offensive.

O. W. W. T.

Detroit.

[Yes, it is true that Murmansk is a possible avenue for Allied action, but in our opinion a landing there by British and American troops would give us a *secondary* front, rather than a "second front" that we all want. The plan which our reader proposes has the following shortcomings: it probably involves breaking Swedish neutrality; it involves a relatively long and perilous voyage around the Norwegian fjords; supplies to support a Murmansk expedition would have to be carried along the equally perilous route, and finally, it would only give the Russians additional manpower, since Murmansk is after all already part of the Eastern Front. On the other hand, a landing in France would be shortest. The supply routes to support this landing would be shortest. Hitler would be threatened at his industrial and strategic heart. The role of the conquered peoples would be far more extensive in western Europe than in northern Scandinavia. So that while we don't rule out the possibility of Allied action in northern Scandinavia, it strikes us as secondary, and in support of an invasion in the west, rather than decisive.—The Editors.]

TO NEW MASSES: The May 26 issue of NEW MASSES, though very interesting because of the different points of view on the vital issue of the Second Front, has not contributed to clarify the situation, in my opinion. It contains different speculations. No one can say if the one is right or the other, so what can *we* do with them?

One may say: yes, I feel Mr. Eliot is right; another, no, I am in favor of the arguments put forward by Mr. Kernan, but what then? It seems to me that the best thing *we* can do is to ask for a second front whenever and wherever we can . . . and only await what will come out of it. As it is not a thing any of us can decide or a problem any of us can solve, I feel that the more opinions we hear, the less firm we are becoming in our own opinion. . . . The most important thing is to point out that the second front would detract a great number of German fighting forces from the Eastern Front at the crucial moment. Second, that those who are opposing a second front because of the shortage of shipping cannot uphold this opinion in face of the fact that Joseph Curran says there is enough shipping if they cease shipping things we can do without for the duration.

In my opinion it is these two things which must be repeated again and again. Really I cannot see any use in giving all these contradictory opinions.

ELIZABETH DE STURLER.

New York.

[The view that NEW MASSES shouldn't have published conflicting opinions in its special issue, "The Case for a Western Front," was shared by several other readers. We agree the danger exists that discussion of conflicting opinions may become a barrier to action. But we also believe that at this stage of the game only a much wider public debate on this question is going to get us Americans anywhere. NEW MASSES is a magazine that tries to get action on vital public issues, but we don't close our pages to differing points of view among allies for victory. In fact we welcome them, when we believe that these differences of opinion will assist the thinking of our readers, and clarify rather than confuse the issue. We think our special number helped to clarify and focus the problem rather than blur it. And so we disagree with Mrs. de Sturler's criticism.—The Editors.]

TO NEW MASSES: It's in the great tradition. Your special Western Front issue was splendid. One thing that struck me about it was the full marshaling of arguments not on the basis of wish but on the basis of hardheaded evidence and possibilities.

I think now that you should begin a campaign to show that a Western Front is the *safest risk*. In talking with people I find that they are all for the offensive but with *caution*. Have we got enough of this, that, and the other thing? Let me say that we will never have enough of anything if overcautiousness dominates thinking. In fact, excessive caution can become a disease—the disease of indecisiveness. Hitler will exploit such timidity for all it is worth. He is taking advantage now of the fact that lots of people would like to wait just a little longer. Let's get down to fighting on the continent now. Tomorrow we may have more guns and tanks and ships. But tomorrow may be too late.

IDA BRINIG.

Los Angeles.

TO NEW MASSES: Thanks for the copy of NEW MASSES with the Brief for and against the Western Front.

Publicity of this sort is needed. Attacks on the Western Front participated in by United Soldiers, even though specific objectives be not achieved, will be worth many times their cost in effect on the morale of the German people.

The effort will pay dividends in bracing the Chinese and Russian forces who are carrying the brunt of the fight and have been doing so for long enough without the encouragement they would get from a real attack on the Western Front.

The same thing is true of those Balkan peoples who are suffering the full weight of the German heel, and who will be encouraged by such a venture.

Chances must be taken in war to win it.

ARTHUR LESUEUR.

Minneapolis, Minn.

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Biddle Passes the Buck

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST'S favorite, Attorney-General Biddle, has still not taken action against Adolph Hitler's favorite, Charles E. Coughlin. No doubt he is too busy trying to deport anti-Hitler labor leaders and pronouncing *ex cathedra* judgments that an anti-fascist political party (for instance, the Communist Party) is trying to overthrow the American government by force and violence to bother with such trifles as prosecuting Hitler's American friends. Biddle is one of those tender-hearted lovers of civil liberties who would not hurt a flea—or a fascist—but who summons up unsuspected courage when it comes to a stiletto job on those whose entire lives are devoted to the fight against fascism.

In an interview in Chattanooga last Saturday Biddle pleaded that in his ruling on Bridges and on the Communist Party "I was merely carrying out the mandate of Congress." Congress has enough sins on its head without taking on those of others. Congress did not give Biddle a mandate to accept the opinion of Judge Charles B. Sears in the Bridges case as against the opinion of Dean James M. Landis and the Department of Justice's own Board of Immigration Appeals. That was Biddle's doing. Congress did not give him a mandate to accept Goebbels' version of the program and principles of the Communist Party. That was Biddle's doing. Congress did not give him a mandate to declare that affiliation with or membership in a trade union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, "was grounds for deportation." That too was Biddle's doing, as was his plagiarizing of Martin Dies' attacks on other progressive organizations.

There are those who say that the question of the Communist Party is a matter for the courts to decide. In an article in *The Worker* of last Sunday, Robert Minor, one of the leaders of the Communist Party, challenges this doctrine as dangerous and un-American. His position appears to us sound. Suppose, for example, that someone charged that the Republican Party sought the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Since actual fascists like Gerald Winrod, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Coughlin's secretary, Louis B. Ward, have run on the Republican ticket or sought its nomination in the primaries, a better case could be made out against the Republicans (and against the Democratic Party of Senator Reynolds and Representative Cox) than against the Communists. Should we, then, leave it to the courts to decide whether Tom Smith can vote Republican or belong to a Republican club? The voters, not the courts—nor, for that matter, Francis Biddle—are the ones to accept or reject the program of a political party. Any other course stultifies democracy.

The Great Sea Battle

SIX months after Pearl Harbor, almost to the day, great sea battles have been raging in the middle and north Pacific, from Midway island, west of Hawaii, to Dutch Harbor, off the tip of Alaska. In all probability, these battles will have a decisive significance for the future course of war on the Pacific front. According to the commander-in-chief of our fleet, Adm. Ernest J. King, the enemy has engaged the bulk of his forces with ours. "It is one of their methods," he says, "and a very sound one too, not to send a boy to do a man's job." The man-sized job the Japanese are evidently trying to do is to destroy those bases from Hawaii to Alaska on which the operation of our Pacific fleet depends, and from which our counter-offensive in the Pacific must be mounted.

In the early stage of this battle, Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, chief of our Pacific forces, reports that the enemy has suffered heavy losses. At least two or three Japanese aircraft carriers plus their planes were sunk; as many as three battleships, four cruisers, and three transports are reported damaged. Our losses by comparison with the really sizable losses to the enemy are considered light. Landlubbers may not appreciate these figures, but when it is recalled that the Japanese probably had eight or nine aircraft carriers to start with, the loss of three is a measure of the size of the engagement. So is the figure of three battleships damaged.

Maj. George Fielding Eliot and others have suggested in a preliminary way that the Midway and Dutch Harbor events must be related to a number of others in recent months. What the Japanese tried to do at Pearl Harbor was to knock us out in order to be free to concentrate their land armies in the Philippines, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and Burma. That phase of their campaign was relatively successful. But once these areas are occupied, the Japanese have to secure them against our eventual counter-attack and the growing potential of our production lines and shipbuilding ways.

While concentrating their land armies against China, as they are doing with some success, especially in Chekiang province and in the south from the Burma direction, the Japanese had to try and dislodge us from those continental or continent-guarding bases where our forces are being assembled, and from which our fleet needs to operate.

At Madagascar the Japanese tried to deprive us of using the Indian Ocean—and they were beaten to the punch. At Ceylon the Japanese sought to grasp the southern key for invading India. They failed. At the Coral Sea battle, the Japanese tried to open the gates to Australia and at the same time cut us off from that potentially offensive base. Again they failed.

It follows that in last week's northern engagements, they were trying to prevent us from building up our Alaskan base, to knock the troublesome Midway position out, and perhaps even to deprive us of Hawaii. But our fleet engaged them, gave heavier blows than it took, and thus far, it would seem that the Japanese grand strategy has been thwarted.

In other words, what they have tried is to establish a sequel to Pearl Harbor; if successful, it would be worse than Pearl Harbor for us. But they have not been successful, thanks to our ships, our men, and above all, our airplane support. Thus Pearl Harbor is not only being avenged, but the basis is being laid for our offensive. And that is why widely separated peoples such as in India, in Australia, and in China—and no doubt the Russians in Vladivostok—have been watching this week with such deep interest.

The CIO's Crucial Decisions

JOHN L. LEWIS has missed the bus. Not even with the aid of Attorney-General Biddle's deportation order against Harry Bridges will he succeed in persuading any large number of Americans that the real issue is the "United Mine Workers of America against Communism." That is Hitler's line, that is Coughlin's line, and when Lewis makes it his line too, he only proves to the hilt the charge of CIO President Phil Murray that Lewis is "hell bent on creating national confusion and national disunity." The stupid, Red-baiting attempt to make a Communist out of Murray and other CIO leaders only exposes the hollowness of the belated resolution adopted by Lewis and his obedient Reichstag, the policy committee of the United Mine Workers, pledging support to the war effort. As Murray put it: "You cannot be a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in this war by saying you are for the war effort and then making qualifications that certain people whom Lewis does not like shall be fired by the CIO."

In contrast to the disruptive activity of

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Lewis and his henchmen, the CIO executive board made decisions that help strengthen the entire nation in the fight against fascist barbarism. It pledged full cooperation with President Roosevelt's seven-point economic program; instructed the CIO executive officers to take steps toward cooperation with the trade unions of the United Nations and of Latin America; condemned Attorney General Biddle's order to deport Harry Bridges; pledged to fight for equality of treatment for all workers in industry regardless of race, color, or creed; and sent a telegram to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generals Arnold and Somervell expressing agreement with "a speedy, all-embracing offensive to carry the war to Hitler on his own territory and crush the Nazi machine between the pincers of the armies of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia."

Of special significance are the resolutions on labor unity and on a national win-the-war labor conference. On the first the CIO proposed as a basis for organic unity with the AFL the establishment of a United Labor Council at a joint meeting of the executive boards of the two organizations. The proposal for a win-the-war conference came from the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, one of the key unions in war production. It calls for a national conference of representatives of every affiliate of the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods. The meeting would have three main objectives: stimulation of war production; "political support to those candidates in support of the President of the United States and the war effort"; and increase of "labor participation in the executive and administrative branches of the government to assure labor's contribution to the war effort."

Jim Crow Gets Socked

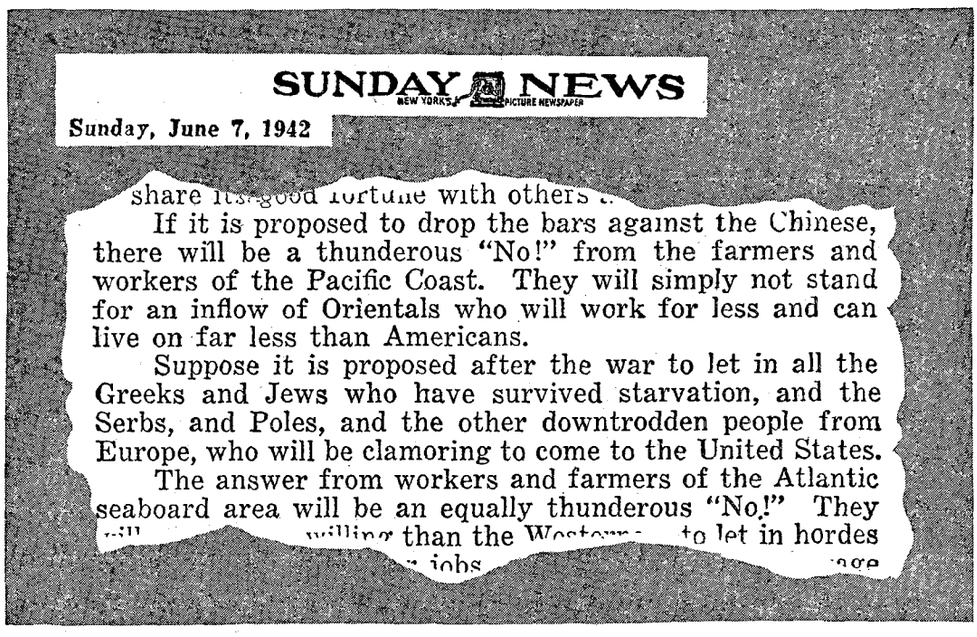
PHI Delta Kappa, the professional educational fraternity, voted overwhelmingly last week to eliminate from its constitution a clause that admitted to membership only "white males." The clause had caused trouble since 1911, and in 1940 when Sigma chapter of Ohio State University initiated a Negro and a Chinese student, the chapter was suspended by the National Council.

The Teachers College (NY) chapter took up the gage, and campaigned nationally among the membership, arranging a straw vote last March that resulted in a 3-to-2 majority for amendment of the constitution. Since then the membership has voted again, overwhelmingly in favor of admitting students of all nationalities and color to the ranks of its elect.

Another action taken last week is indicative of the growing awareness of our people. In Washington the National Negro Congress carried its solid understanding of the Negro's relation to the war to the people of our country in full-page advertisements printed in ten Negro weeklies and one Washington daily.

"This is the war of every American—regardless of race, creed, or color—because the national independence of our country is at stake," the advertisement said. The Congress elected Ferdinand Smith, vice-president of the NMU, to be its treasurer; demanded an end of discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces and in civilian life; urged a Western Front now; assailed John L. Lewis.

These actions are the direct consequence of the march of events since Pearl Harbor; the heroism of individual Negro soldiers and sailors; the spreading consciousness of the issues of this people's war.


SUNDAY NEWS
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER
Sunday, June 7, 1942

share its good fortune with others ...

If it is proposed to drop the bars against the Chinese, there will be a thunderous "No!" from the farmers and workers of the Pacific Coast. They will simply not stand for an inflow of Orientals who will work for less and can live on far less than Americans.

Suppose it is proposed after the war to let in all the Greeks and Jews who have survived starvation, and the Serbs, and Poles, and the other downtrodden people from Europe, who will be clamoring to come to the United States.

The answer from workers and farmers of the Atlantic seaboard area will be an equally thunderous "No!" They ... willing than the Western ... to let in hordes ... jobs ... age

Dispensing defeatist poison to the millions, an editorial in the New York Daily News *ridiculed the idea of a better postwar world as expressed in the recent speeches of Vice-President Wallace and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. Part of the ridicule consisted of falsification. For instance: "The US Army, says Mr. Welles, must do most of the work of policing the world until the world settles down to this state of milk-drinking bliss." What Welles actually said was that the people "will insist that the United Nations undertake the maintenance of an international police power in the years after the war to insure freedom from fear to peace-loving peoples. . . ." The* News *also threatened that any attempt to bring about a better world after the war "will fan up a fight in this country. . . ." The* Daily News' *own conception of the postwar world, based on Hitlerite anti-Semitism and race and national hatred, is indicated in the above extracts from its editorial.*

The Battle of Rationing

LAST week we talked about the fact that we were losing the battle of rubber because of conflicts in authority, incompetence in high places, and tardy and shortsighted planning. Closely related is the problem of gas rationing, and here too bungling is rife. There is no shortage of gas and oil; rationing has had to be introduced on the eastern seaboard solely because of a shortage of transportation facilities. Now belatedly, however, the War Production Board has begun to realize that the consumption of gas in motor vehicles is closely related to the consumption of rubber in the form of tires. This means that if the 1,000,000 tons of rubber now on the motor vehicles of the nation are to last as long as possible, the supplies of gas to run the cars must be cut as low as possible. Which in turn means that regardless of whether the transportation bottleneck is broken, gas must be rationed not only in the East, but throughout the country.

It is as simple as two plus two. Yet a special meeting last week of about 100 House members representing both major parties adopted a resolution opposing nationwide gas rationing unless facts are officially presented showing that it is "necessary to conserve the supply of gasoline." The implication is that under no circumstances would these members of the House accept rationing for the purpose of conserving rubber. Now it would be easy to denounce these congressmen and accuse them of lack of patriotism. There is no doubt that the moving spirits in this agitation in Congress are appeasers and those who are more concerned about the profits of the oil companies than the welfare of the country. Yet it is true that neither Congress nor the country has been educated as to the basic facts about gas and rubber. Instead there have been conflicting announcements, rumors, and heated debates, confusing both public and Congress.

A glimmer of light broke through last Friday when it was announced after a meeting of high officials with President Roosevelt

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that an inventory of the amount of reclaimable rubber in the country would first be undertaken, after which decisions about nationwide gas rationing would be made.

Of course, conserving and reclaiming rubber is only one aspect of the problem. Our rubber stocks will not be ample until the production of synthetic rubber gets fully under way. The whole situation requires, as we pointed out last week, a shakeup of the top command which only the President and Donald Nelson can effect. It is gratifying that in the case of food hit-or-miss methods are not being tolerated. No general shortages of food exist or are expected, but taking time by the forelock, the War Production Board has set up a nine-man committee, headed by Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard, to control the production and allocation of all military and civilian food supplies.

Teachers Needed Now

IT IS quite possible that by the time you read this there will be 125 less teachers in the New York City educational system. The Board of Education had announced it would drop them for "budgetary" reasons. Five thousand have already been dropped in the last five years, whereas in Britain under the bombs appropriations for education were augmented, this year and last.

The progressive Teachers' Union of New York City feels that its fight to save these jobs involves more than the saving of the jobs themselves. It is true that there are fewer children in school today than there were five years ago, but in spite of this reduction in student population, classes become increasingly larger as teacher personnel is reduced.

It looks from here as though the Board of Education is missing a staggering opportunity to fully integrate the school system into the war effort. The Teachers' Union, wholeheartedly committed to victory, feels that every school in the city should have a child-care center and should become a community center holding nightly forums for civilians. It feels that the million school children should be involved in the war effort; that vocational schools, instead of closing (the vocational evening high schools *were* closed by the Board of Education as of April 1) should train young boys of fourteen to eighteen, but see to it that their training has practical application. There is no reason why these schools could not manufacture thousands upon thousands of small parts.

Unless the parents of children in New York get on their toes, hundreds of teachers will follow the 125 who were to have been dismissed last week. The school child is a member of our democracy; his stake in this war is vital. With his patriotic teachers and within the enormous apparatus of the schools, he can render an indispensable service to our country.

THE WEEK in LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

London (by cable).

WITH the publication of the White Paper on Coal, the general impression is one of quiet cooling in a political atmosphere which a few days ago could have been described as really tropical. It did seem only last week that the coal crisis might upset the government. That seems less likely today. The most serious effects of the coal compromise will be those resulting from the postponement of fuel rationing and failure to exact such vigorous control of the mines as the Miners Federation has demanded.

The effects of the rationing postponement will be felt next winter. The effects of inadequate control won't be felt for a rather longer time though they will be nonetheless dangerous for that. After all, the government, through Hugh Dalton and Sir Stafford Cripps, did declare only a few weeks ago that fuel rationing by June was urgent and indispensable. The public agreed. Then came the protests of the big distributive interests and the 1922 Committee, and now we have the White Paper jauntily announcing that the government does not consider the introduction of compulsory rationing necessary at all at this time. It is an unpleasant picture and it is one which certainly does not contribute to public confidence. It opens the door wide to all those disruptionists who seek to exploit the existing balance of power within the government to spread cynicism and general disgruntlement.

Equally it is clear that the Coal White Paper represents very serious concessions to the mine owners. This is particularly damaging in the separation of the wage issue from the general scheme and in attempts to prevent any form of national negotiation between miners and mine owners. This, of course, is a point which the mine owners have been fighting on for more than twenty years and so far have always won. It is obvious that whatever other results may come from this compromise, the position of Stafford Cripps and Hugh Dalton in the eyes of the masses has been seriously shaken. It is no secret that Cripps did at one time contemplate resignation on this issue, and it is inevitable that the defense which he will now be compelled to make of the new coal proposals will lower his prestige in the eyes of many who were possibly over-impressed by what has been called the "Cripps myth."

THE dangers implicit in any disruption of existing national unity are most completely evidenced in the agitation of an anti-Soviet character currently being developed by certain extreme reactionary elements who seem ambitious to constitute a new British Cliveden set. They are led by Maj. Victor Cazalet. Cazalet returned recently from the Soviet Union and, as is now generally known, caused to be printed and circulated among his friends—300 persons selected as potentially influential—a bitterly vixenish little volume of comment, largely directed against the Soviet Union. Cazalet's anti-Soviet agitation may have some connection with the heavy losses sustained in the Russian Revolution by the Cazalet family, which up till then had treated Russia as virtually a colonial country created for the benefit of the Cazalets and their like.

With Cazalet in the present agitation are associated Harold Nicolson and Erskine Hill, chairman of the 1922 Committee. Those associated with this group claim—perhaps with some exaggeration—that they have at least 62 MP's associated with them and they boast (again it is to be hoped exaggeratedly) of the pressure which they assert they are able to bring upon the government. Their agitation is directed both against a reasonable settlement of postwar relationships between Britain and the Soviet Union and against full cooperation now in all senses of the word.

A curious feature of the situation is the fact that there exists some kind of general understanding between the Cazalet group and the "Vansittartists." The latter oppose any distinction between the Nazis and the German people and urge that the war be waged in a spirit of vengeance against all Germans. In a recent issue of the *Nineteenth Century* Frederick Voigt, who is closely associated with Sir Robert Vansittart, suggested that unless one adopted a Vansittartite policy toward Germany, it would be impossible to oppose Soviet policy in Eastern Europe. He maintained that the Vansittartites could argue that if Britain totally destroyed Germany, the Soviet Union would have no further "excuse" for acting in the interests of its own security.

The Kemsley press—now by far the most sinister big press influence in Britain—is already following with some necessary caution a similarly anti-Soviet line. And Harold Nicolson has devoted one of his weekly columns in the *Spectator* to an article containing grossly slanderous and defeatist suggestions about Soviet policy. All this, though dangerous and disgusting, must not be taken to suggest that these disruptive elements can seriously affect Anglo-Soviet friendship. Nevertheless, they are typical of the internal menaces to which a strengthened national unity and a strengthened Anglo-Soviet cooperation are the urgent answer.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

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A MORAL FOR REVIEWERS

Has Jan Valtin yet succeeded in disenchanting Fred T. Marsh? . . . And some thoughts on the way Lon Tinkle rearranges the facts of life in his review of Pozner's "The Edge of the Sword."

I HATE to bring up the distasteful name of Jan Valtin once again. I hate to recall those murky days when so many people, ordinarily sensible, swallowed *Out of the Night* hook, line, and sinker. But when a guy has one cheek gouged by a snake and then ceremoniously offers the other, I think someone ought to tell him off. For the sake of the record, at least, someone ought to tell off Mr. Fred T. Marsh, reviewer for the Sunday book section of the New York *Herald Tribune.* In his unhappy—and yet ridiculous—plight there is a moral for every member of the reviewing fraternity.

In the *Herald Tribune* for April 26, Mr. Marsh reviewed Valtin's fizzle-dizzle follow-up, *Bend in the River.* This book, according to the reviewer, contains the "early writings" of Richard Krebs, alias Valtin, when he was "an undergraduate of the university of San Quentin prison. . . ." Mr. Marsh hailed these criminalia with unmitigated enthusiasm. He found in them the heart of a poet pining away for three years in jail. Here was "a valid document both as to literature and life" that "should put the cynics in their place." Here, gloated the reviewer, was final proof of Krebs-Valtin's shining integrity of spirit and scrupulous devotion to fact.

Had Mr. Marsh clung to the public record, his panegyric would have been more impressive. By noting that Valtin was convicted under the "criminal syndicalism" act of California, he makes it appear that the author under review was the victim of political prosecution. The fact is that this "surprisingly sensitive" poet was convicted in 1926 of assaulting a storekeeper in Los Angeles after an attempted robbery. But we can let that go for the moment. It's not the main point.

The main point is that Mr. Marsh is so intrigued by the poetry of this author's soul, he is so convinced that this book is an answer to "cynics" who distrusted *Out of the Night,* that it does not occur to him to use the protective device of quotation marks. In his review he says, categorically and on his own responsibility, that two prisoners at San Quentin, Ernest Booth and Roy Sloan, "went wrong on release."

But on May 24, those readers who got as far as the last page of the book section, were confronted with "A Correction" by the editors. In a documented, forceful letter, Ernest Booth protested the statement by Fred T. Marsh "which is absolutely false, unjust, and so close to libel I cannot permit it to stand unchallenged." Describing his admirable record since his release, Mr. Booth declared that the reviewer's statement had caused him grief and damage: "In many editorial offices it will be accepted at face value."

Now here is the tip-off. The *Herald Tribune* apologizes for its reviewer by pointing out that his statement was based on a passage in Valtin's book which linked Mr. Booth up with a murder. Then the paper regrets Valtin's "mistaken understanding." And now everybody is supposed to be happy.

Everybody, that is, except Mr. Booth, who has been seriously maligned, and the readers of the newspaper, who have been advised that the absolutely authentic book of a few weeks ago is not so absolutely authentic after all. And those readers must be asking themselves: Who, then, in the name of all that's good and glorious, is the "cynic"? The oft-convicted liar Krebs-Valtin; the reviewer who endorses and circulates slanders in the spirit of high truth; or Mr. Joe Doakes, the reader, who insists on calling a liar, quite simply and without adornment, a liar?

I'll take my chances with the third fellow, and it is my unsolicited recommendation that all reviewers stick it out with him. And possibly Mr. Fred T. Marsh is, at this late hour, sufficiently disenchanted with the poet of San Quentin to trail along with the rest of us.

A BOOK may be damned with faint praise. It may also be damned with muddy praise, and I offer as Exhibit A the review of Vladimir Pozner's *The Edge of the Sword* in the *Saturday Review of Literature.* One gathers that the reviewer, Lon Tinkle, liked the book on the whole. So far so good: excellent appraisal of an excellent book. But hold on a minute.

In paragraph one the book offers "no clarification of the reasons for France's downfall. . . ." In paragraph two "The interpretation is there, without any doubt, but Pozner doesn't give it to you in statement." In one passage the French officers "take all the blame here." In another passage we meet "Bissieres of the Armaments Control Board, an industrialist whose one aim in life is to liquidate every remnant of the Popular Front of 1936," and Carvin "the archetype of bureaucratic bourgeoisie."

How account for such arrant confusions and contradictions in one relatively short review? The answer is that Mr. Tinkle, the reviewer, is unwilling to accept the basic premises of the story he likes and is attempting to rewrite it in the process of summarizing it. He says that "Pozner's preoccupation with Caillol doubtless explains the notable absence in *The Edge of the Sword* of any national feeling for France." Now this is indeed curious. It was my impression that the underlying drive of the novel was a strong patriotic feeling for France and consequently a deep sense of outrage at those who were responsible for her collapse. But suppose one grants the "notable absence" of such feeling. Mr. Tinkle says this is due to the author's preoccupation with a working class organizer and anti-fascist. Who then would represent national feeling? Colonel Carvin?—(since "The conflict between Caillol and Colonel Carvin is the central symbol of the book"). But as the reviewer himself notes, at the moment of France's mortal crisis in June 1940, in the very midst of disastrous invasion, the worker and Popular Frontist Caillol "represents, more than the Germans, what he (Colonel Carvin) most fears in the world."

And there it is in a nutshell. The supporter of France's "200 families" fears the French people more than he does the Nazis. That is the story of France's betrayal, and that is at the heart of Pozner's exciting novel. That is why Caillol and the other men of the ranks are the obvious and necessary expressions of a national feeling for France in the six weeks of 1940 that the book describes. One either sees that or one tosses the novel out the window. To attempt, as reviewer Tinkle does, to rearrange the facts of life and the premises of fiction, is fair neither to the author nor the reader. Nor is it flattering to the reviewer.

I CAN'T resist citing a third moral for reviewers. Orville Prescott, who alternates with John Chamberlain in the daily reviews of the New York *Times,* furnishes the text. The other day Mr. Prescott reviewed *Flight to Freedom,* a volume of reminiscences by Barbara Padowicz, whom he describes as a Polish aristocrat. It appears that this volume includes another of those tedious "Escape from the Soviet" episodes with which pub-

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lishers and movie producers used to insult our intelligence. But here it is again, anno 1942. Says Mr. Prescott: ". . . they had exchanged Gauleiters and the Gestapo for commissars and the GPU" and life now seemed even bleaker for Barbara Padowicz. Life in the Soviet Union, land of her refuge—this was in 1940—seemed grubby compared with "even as poor a capitalist country as Poland." All of which, I submit, is odious, vile, and downright disgusting. To slander at this moment a people whose blood is being spilled for the freedom of mankind is not excusable even in the book review, which seems to have become the last refuge of libelers. I don't see why Orville Prescott, just because he writes for the *Times,* should be exempt from reading the firsthand Moscow dispatches of Ralph Parker that appear in his paper and magnificently refute the Barbara Padowicz's of this world.

Some weeks ago Bennett Cerf, president of Random House, reminded publishers and booksellers of their moral and patriotic responsibility to get rid of these viperous books that spread the Hitler poison against our Soviet ally. And just the other day, Archibald MacLeish urged upon a convention of booksellers their responsibility to evaluate their wares not as counters over the cashbox but as repositories of truth. By and large, there has been a healthy change in the book world since June of last year. I think book reviewers can chip in more than they sometimes do. The Padowicz book reaches relatively few people; but its slurs at our great ally are circulated among hundreds of thousands of readers through Mr. Prescott. The same goes for Mr. Marsh. After all, you don't have to carry a gun to feel yourself a soldier of the United Nations.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Nothing New Under the Sun

SHAKESPEARE IN HARLEM, *by Langston Hughes. Knopf. $2.50.*

BE ANGRY AT THE SUN, *by Robinson Jeffers. Random House. $2.50.*

AWAKE AND OTHER WARTIME POEMS, *by W. R. Rodgers. Harcourt Brace. $1.50.*

NONE of these three books is really something new under the sun. Both Langston Hughes and Robinson Jeffers, in their totally different ways, are writing as they always have. Mr. Rodgers is younger and this is his first book. But not even this young poet has achieved either a new way of communicating his feeling about the world as it is now or, surely, a new vision of this world. With history moving so rapidly, poets are, of course, having difficulty in writing at all, for poetry is not mere reporting. Any poem must convey an idea made feeling, and through words and rhythms which are sufficiently emotionalized to stir the reader. Poetry, in other words, requires time for gestation.

If a poet needs a history, a culture, something implicit and of some duration to communicate, the Negro poet has this. His problem is old, his cause just. The culture out of which he writes is more or less homogeneous. The symbols of race suffering and oppression are well understood.

This new collection of Langston Hughes' "blues songs" is not unlike his earlier collections. These are the known lonely songs and rhythms of his people, their love songs too. Back of the simple rhythms lies suffering. The poems are close to folk song. It may be said, however, that they probably had been in preparation for some time. They indicate no awareness of the changed war world, they are not even profoundly class or race-conscious. I think on the whole they are a little too easily composed. Folk poetry is always the picture of a people. But a poet like Langston Hughes should have something more to say than is said in these strummed out "blues songs" which can too easily be listened to and do not call forth enough thought.

Robinson Jeffers is entirely consistent. All of his long poems have expressed the anarchistic individualist's annoyance with the modern world. Long ago Jeffers said flatly that he was more impressed by Nietzsche than by Christ, by Freud than by Marx or Lenin. He understood, he said, the guns and the airplanes better than any of the economic theories for "Utopia."

Jeffers is a clear example of the poet who remains a romantic and anarchistic individualist in times which turn to other forms of thinking. He is as disillusioned about this culture as Eliot, but he thinks man should return to the primitive and solitary. Nor does he retreat in this last volume which was, undoubtedly, composed before Pearl Harbor. His position is isolationist, anti-Roosevelt. He has a vague admiration for Churchill aroused and England aroused. He understands (or thinks he does) Hitler, the madman and dreamer. He sees his generation after this war as wandering between the "dogs" of Europe and the "policemen" of America. His sons are war age and he hates the war for that reason. But he has long held that our civilization was crashing, must crash, and has believed in Spengler and the cyclic theory of the rise and fall of cultures, races, etc. So much for his ideas. As for his poetry it is prosaic, looser than usual in structure, flat-footed and weary. And this book will feed emotionally only those who can look toward a god of violence and enjoy the fury of storm because they desire the nervous exhaustion and oblivion which follow. Fortunately these are not many. Jeffers has been over-rated. He is communicating only to such as, being sick, would have sensation at any price, even the price of death.

The best book in this group is W. R. Rodgers' *Awake and Other Wartime Poems.* Some of the poems in this volume were written before the war, others more recently. Rodgers is a young Ulsterman better acquainted at this time than any American poet is likely to be with the actual meaning of war itself. The first edition of this book was destroyed in an enemy bombing raid. And Rodgers has the dubious distinction of being hailed as the Rupert Brooke of this later war. He is technically well equipped, better equipped than Brooke ever was. But he has, alas, been educated in poetry by the English intellectual poets—Auden in particular. His real world is distinctly that of the disillusioned middle class. His acceptance of social reform is an intellectual acceptance first and foremost. And consequently there is much in the longer poems in this book which is pure rhetoric (an attempt to convince others) rather than actual vision, imagination, or emotional faith in a better future for mankind.

The rhythms here are often the down-beat rhythms of disillusionment. The imagery is *composed* rather than felt "ten-league boots on brutality," "oiled eyes," "syrupy event," "sought in cinemas," "trapped intrepid man." Actually this language reminds one of the artificial pseudo-classic language as first employed by the very early romantics in pieces about common man. And the poems which are truly successful here are not those of intellectual message artfully contrived, but such poems as "Beagles," in which the image of the hunted animal becomes the image of hunted man—and because Rodgers has seen and felt this fact emotionally.

As for poems of propaganda, one must honor this poet for trying to convey a message of which intellectually he is convinced:

And let us like the trapped intrepid man
Who on the prairie hears the holocaust roar
And sees his horizons running to meet him
In mutinous flames, while the still grasses fill
With rills of refugees, let us calmly
Stand now to windward, and here at our feet
Stooping, light fires of foresight that will clean
And clear the careless ground before us
Of Privilege. So will that other Fate
Arriving find no hold within our state,
And we on our ringed ground its roar will wait
Freely. Awake! before it is too late.

This is deliberate anti-fascist war poetry, but it is intellectual poetry. And purely intellectual poetry is never very important artistically. It has the further fault of not touching anything but the upper brain cells. It is not emotionally moving. W. R. Rodgers, rid of his contrived imagery, searching the actual world of sight and sound and smell and the language of the people who love freedom, may come through. He is turned in the right direction. But he had better stop talking about the "scathing winds of hate," "lariat intellect," "grass skirt insularity," if he wants to communicate to the English-speaking common people anything at all.

EDA LOU WALTON.

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SCIENCE & SOCIETY
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Lorca as Playwright

FROM LORCA'S THEATER. *Five Plays of Federico Garcia Lorca. Translated by Richard L. O'Connell and James Graham. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.*

AFTER reading these plays I think of some beautiful and vigorous South American dancers I have seen, who at first seemed overhung with gaudy and foolish ornament. With the graceful and firm lines of their bodies broken or blurred by ribbon and tassel, they seemed the victims of a wild and infantile taste. Then they danced, and the ribbons streamed like flames and the ornaments became like visible currents and cross currents.

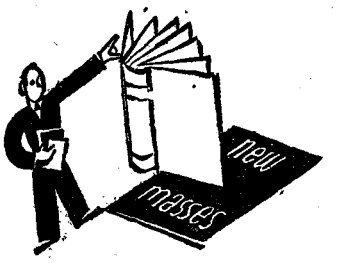
At first Lorca's plays are as gaudy with mannerisms, symbols, and rhetoric. On any single page the ornaments with which the writing seems overhung are like the dancer's painted wicker, glass, and ribbons, until the dancing sets them in motion. Eccentricity and excess seems to mark this overrich language, this lavish rhetoric, these characters so symbol-laden and so ceremonially formalized.

But as the drama proceeds, the vigor and life and excitement grows; and one is delighted with Lorca's inventive energy. What had seemed an obscuring overlay of rhetoric takes on a special function, to impart an added and, as it were, counterpointed motion. For Lorca's imagery appears to have functions not ordinarily allotted even in poetry. Instead of a limited function, such as decorating or heightening the detail at which it is applied, it continues and sustains symbols which have a symbiotic life with the characters, about whom they entwine, like tropic vines bearing brilliant flowers, around the trunks of jungle trees. The symbols have organic life and growth equally with the characters.

Therefore, though any page one turns to, seems to be overburdened with some extravagance, with violations of the sense of reality, yet, as soon as one is swung into the movement of the drama, the action becomes vibrant with reality.

Of the five plays given here, four, *The Shoemaker's Prodigious Wife, The Love of Don Perlimplin, If Five Years Pass,* and *Yerma,* deal with what one might call the sentimental obsession of the first generation of our century. This sentimental obsession, in which men figure as beings of tortured delicacy whose sensitiveness makes them insufficient to their direct and earthy women, may be a reaction to the equal and opposite sentimental obsession of the Victorian era. And it may be the rationalized and prettified expression of male shock over one of the chief phenomena of our century, the emergence of woman into work and the world. Its gravest statement has been that of D. H. Lawrence; its most spectacular, perhaps, that of the sculptor Gaston Lachaise.

The Victorian sentimentality was the presentation of the man-woman relationship as the crude male invasion upon the sensitive female. Thereby a male world that restricted women's activities, forbade her equal economic oppor-



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tunities, social liberties and political rights, sought to make a symbolic compensation. However, Victorian industry itself, with its needs for women workers, and the destruction of the old type of homes began to force, as well as liberate, woman from her former restrictions. The consequence as women emerged and squeezed between men for a place on the scene was the new sentimentality by which men, apprehensive of their new position, began to picture themselves as the more sensitive and romantic and women, in turn, as the strong, crude, sensual, and invading.

It is clear that Lorca was not particularly reflective on the subject, had no urge to build a philosophy on the theme like D. H. Lawrence. He made use of it, because it was in the thought stream of the time, and he put into it the full play and passion of the poetry that filled him. In his plays there is no exposition of the idea but an artist's use of it, almost as stereotyped yet as full of symbolic life as the idea of the Virgin as used by medieval artists.

Yet a certain change and development are to be observed with the last two of the five plays, *Yerma,* and the one not yet mentioned, *Dona Rosita,* which hint at the social consciousness of the revolutionary writer. Lorca, one feels, was growing into a profound maturity when his tragic death at the hands of fascists put an end to one of the most gifted talents of our time. In *Yerma,* the woman suffers and the man is insufficient but not through his sensitiveness; rather, now, through his anxiety for the security that money can bring him. The symbolism is very clear. The man grows less as his flocks grow greater. He withers. His life has gone into his herds, and he cannot give enough life to his woman to quicken her.

In the last play, *Dona Rosita,* a very vivid symbolic picture is given of the mean hopes and shallow malice of the petty-bourgeois, and of the betrayal of life in the fealty to money.

But this development, though a clear enough direction, is not so marked as to justify much speculation. The chief of Lorca's characteristics as a poetic dramatist remain in these as in the other plays, the exuberant rhetoric and the organic symbolism. These add a poetic life of their own to the lives of the characters who, despite stylization and eccentricity, are very much alive.

There is one more thing to be said. Lorca loves human beings. He does not share one of the literary diseases of our time, the astigmatism toward humanity which has made our writers see human beings dwarfed or deformed.

For Lorca, human beings are majestic, they contain the mystery of life, they glow with it. It is with a reverence for life that one leaves these plays. And it is in this reverence for life, perhaps, that one may distinguish, most clearly, the people's artist in the complex, rhetorical, and almost surrealistic poet-dramatist, Federico Lorca.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

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WHAT THE ARTISTS WANT

Give us a chance to use our skill for the war, they say. Artist as soldier. How Great Britain and the Soviet Union mobilized their artists. What we can do.

THE Artists League of America has issued a call to the country's artists to participate in a conference in New York City June 13, 14, and 15. The subject of the meeting will be: how can artists join in the war effort, using their skills for victory? The League was formed by an amalgamation of the United American Artists and the American Artists Congress, veteran organizations in anti-fascist struggle.

The artists' problem is not so much whether they can help win the war, but whether they will be permitted to do so. This is the concern of all intellectuals today, and no secondary matters, such as technical and esthetic differences, should obscure the central issue: will the artist, as citizen and craftsman, be allowed to perform his useful and necessary function?

The long history of the enforced alienation of the artist from society need not be gone into here. It must be pointed out, however, that artists as a whole have never accepted their position without reservations. Many struggled openly against a servitude which kept them from the lives and knowledge of the common people. Who can forget the names of Michelangelo, Callot, Rembrandt, David, Goya, Delacroix, Daumier, Courbet? And now today, Picasso, Orozco, Gropper? Yet, never before has the revolt of the artist, the breakaway from isolation and the return to the people, acquired the character and intensity of a mass movement. Fighting alongside the trade unions and other anti-fascist groups and similar organizations, painters, sculptors, and graphic men have made the public use of art a living force for progress in America.

As in the past, the refusal of the artist to conform to the taste and values of official and private art patrons has brought severe economic and even political penalties. The well known artist, George Biddle, in an article published in *Harper's* magazine, September 1941, gives figures for the average annual incomes of artists in various cities: Pittsburgh, $295; Chicago, $165; San Francisco, $510; Cleveland, $72. This at a time when, as Mr. Biddle states, "there is a greater curiosity about art and a more intelligent interest in it in America today than probably anywhere in Europe during the past 400 years." The supposed "uselessness" of the artist does not spring from his inherent lack of ability to adjust himself to the needs of the people, but to economic circumstances over which he has little control. The unemployed artist, in peace or war, is no more useless intrinsically than the unemployed patternmaker, millhand, or carpenter.

The artists have a concrete answer for those who cry that they think only of themselves and are not willing to make sacrifices. Almost 100 Negro and white blood donors from the UAA alone have responded to the Red Cross appeal. First aid classes have been organized. Union members are air raid wardens, volunteer firemen, and ambulance drivers. They have done volunteer art work for the war relief agencies, the OCD, and neighborhood defense groups (much of this at their own expense for materials). Many are serving in the Army, Navy, and merchant marine; others are working as machinists in the war industries.

A LITTLE over a month after the attack on Pearl Harbor delegates from twenty-one art societies, representing 10,000 artists, met at the Architectural League of New York to unite in one body for more effective cooperation in winning the war. They formed Artists for Victory, Inc., whose purpose was "to assist artists in utilizing their special qualifications to the best advantage." A questionnaire was broadcast so that some estimate could be made of the abilities of artists, whether for murals, printmaking, poster work, illustration, photography, map-making, or teaching. If little has been accomplished so far, the fault can hardly be attributed to unwillingness on the artists' side.

The blame must rather be placed squarely on the small heads of those same reactionaries whose attacks upon labor are sabotaging the national war effort, who want to set employer against worker, white against Negro, farmer against union man, Protestant against Jew, and handworker against intellectual. They who danced on the floor of Congress whenever a measure to consolidate the cultural gains of our country was killed; they strangled the WPA cultural projects in the name of economy; and they now want to abolish the forty-hour week for some other "noble" reason. They want to prevent the artist from taking his place beside his brother soldier and worker, for this would be another step toward the national unity which they fear.

The effects of the attack on all cultural expression is clearly manifest on the local New York art project. Artists have been forced to abandon their creative work to perform unskilled labor for which no proper equipment has been provided. Many have left statues uncompleted and murals half finished on the walls of schools and other public buildings. It has become mandatory for every artist on the project to be trained for some industrial job—but at a drop to fifty-two dollars a month, and with no assurance of his getting such a job when he is through learning. Meanwhile, one or two advertising firms have sewed up contracts with the government for work which these and other unemployed artists might do more feelingly and at less cost.

IS THIS the role which the artist must play in the war? Our allies do not think so. Two months after the outbreak of war an Artists Advisory Committee was established in Great Britain, headed by the director of the National Gallery. A list of qualified artists was drawn up. These were to work on commission, recording the events of the war both at home and abroad. Public exhibitions of their work are held.

The British government has bought the work of amateur artists in the Auxiliary Fire Service. The March 2 issue of *Life* reproduced some of these pictures, which illustrate episodes of ARP duty. There have also been poster contests for juvenile artists.

An organized effort has been made to do something about the economic plight of the artist. In October 1939, prominent British artists held the first benefit show to assist younger artists. Similar exhibits have since been held under the auspices of the Institute of Adult Education. The famous CEMA, Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, is subsidized jointly by the government and the Pilgrim Trust to give help to needy artists. The CEMA also organizes exhibits of ancient and modern art and industrial design. More than 250,000 people have attended these shows in industrial areas, where they are held in factory canteens and restaurants. A particularly important exhibit was organized by the Artists International Association in the canteen of the Ministry of Shipping.

In Britain the artists have been employed mainly to record the changing face of their country in wartime. Artists in the Soviet Union are encouraged to engage more actively in the war itself, and their work is treated as an integral part of the military effort. The Trade Union of Art Workers and the Union of Creative Artists have organized workshops for the production of posters and cartoons.

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Posters are executed rapidly, following the news. They are exhibited in the now world-famous windows of the Tass news agency and thousands of reproductions by stencil process are distributed throughout the country. A special editorial board has been set up to discuss ideas and gags with the artists. The old postcards with their views of city and country have been replaced by cards with agitational cartoons in bright colors, based upon folklore expressions and humor. Satirical posters directed at the enemy are plastered on every wall in Moscow. All satirical verses, recited and set to music, are illustrated. Groups of artists have gone to the front and held conferences with soldiers and partisans.

Even the normal cultural function of art is not forgotten. When the artists of White Russia were evacuated from their territories overrun by the enemy last summer, they continued their work in other Soviet Republics. No one shouted that they were "boondoggling" or that the government was "molly-coddling" them.

What then can American artists do in this war? The President of the United States has acknowledged the artists' acceptance of their responsibility as citizens. In his address to the nation on April 28, he said, "Our soldiers and sailors are members of well disciplined units. But they are still and forever individuals—free individuals. They are farmers, workers, businessmen, professional men, *artists,* clerks. They are the United States of America." The artists ask for no more than the privilege of assuming their duties, and of using their craft as one among many weapons to defeat the enemy. They have proposed the unification of all federal agencies dealing with art, such as the Treasury and WPA, and the employment of artists on a non-relief basis. They will do war posters, cartoons, silk screen work and educational displays for the Army, Navy, and government departments, illustrations for government books and pamphlets, murals and heroic sculpture and floats for parades. They can organize exhibits and other cultural entertainment for the camps and service clubs, working with the Morale Division of the Army. They can contribute to the decoration and design of war housing. They can easily be trained for camouflage, photography, map-making, and other technical work. The old outworn distinction between "fine" and "applied" art will be further broken down by the tasks which the artist accepts today.

Even more important for the artist, his work will open to him fields of knowledge from which he has long been barred by the division of labor and social custom. He will go into the laboratory, the factory, the field, and into battle, learning to see in a new way, comprehending the world of science, and making human beings and human relationships once more the subject of his creative labor. He will use all the resources of the recent traditions of painting and sculpture—post-impressionism, expressionism, "abstract" art, surrealism—but he will deepen the aim of art, returning it to the humanistic strivings of the people. As the League states:

"Need creative work motivated by the stormy passions or the tumultuous ideas of this people's war give rise to an art of lesser dimension than that of the landscape, the still life, or the abstraction? Need sculpture of the heroes of Bataan, or paintings of heroes of production be less dignified than a bather of Cezanne or less inspiring than a ballet girl by Degas? The answer has already been given by such great achievements as the 'Guernica' by Picasso, the 'Seventh Symphony' written for the defense of Leningrad by Dmitri Shostakovitch and by the wonderful art of the United Nations. The best contribution that the artists can make collectively to the war will be through art. The nation has need for paintings, sculpture and graphic art about the great realities of the war."

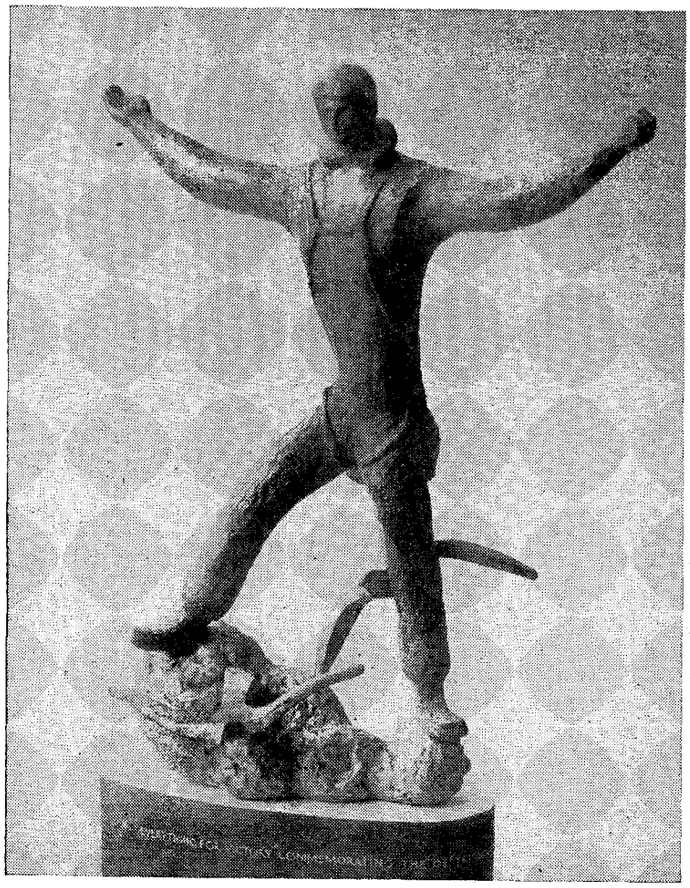
With this statement, American artists announce that they have come of age. Will they be permitted to work for victory?

CHARLES HUMBOLDT.

Exciting Soviet Film

"Red Tanks" clicks. . . . New Hollywood comedy has ideas.

NEITHER wholly documentary nor wholly fictive, *Red Tanks* may perhaps best be equated with some of our own productions for defense, such as the recent James Stewart short urging boys to join the Air Force. It is the first Soviet film about and for this war which we have seen here, except for newsreels,



From "Artists in the War," on exhibit at the ACA Gallery, 26 W. 8th St., N. Y. C., June 13-July 14.

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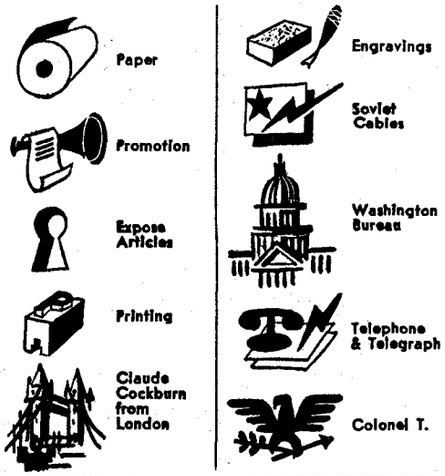

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and consequently has tremendous interest as a source of screen ideas, over and above its intrinsic interest of a powerful story straightforwardly told. Comparison with the Air Force short reveals certain essential differences of attitude in film-making. The James Stewart piece emphasizes its star's personal charm in making the Air Force attractive, as well as such considerations as substantial salaries, valuable training, and even the effect an aviator's uniform has on the girls. In addition, it makes much use of photographic effects apparently hastily imitated from *Native Land.*

Red Tanks, at first, seems quiet and unassuming by contrast. There is no direct appeal to the audience. An important thesis of the film is the fact that tanks are as intensely dramatic as the more spectacular and romantic air arm, for in the Soviet Union, where even babies are air-minded, there is no need to direct attention to the Red Air Force; the other branches of the service need it more. This thesis, however, is developed not as a recruiting appeal but as incidental to the basic educational function of the film. *Red Tanks* exists to show the Soviet people what can be done with tanks.

This function it fulfills with enormous power. Its cast is one of professional actors. Its photography, on the other hand, sacrifices the sleek glitter of studio perfection to the dust of actual maneuvers, and thus gains in realism what it loses in artfulness. Dealing with an unprecedented mechanized advance to capture a Nazi position, *Red Tanks* shows us the terrible land battleships of the Soviet reconnoitering, running down fleeing cavalry, destroying artillery positions and crushing the guns out of existence, leaping rivers like a buck antelope . . . everything but flying. And when Lieutenant Karasyov tells the captured Nazi general, "When necessary, Soviet tanks can also fly!," you believe him.

For you have seen, in the film's climax, a procession of tanks descending a ninety-degree cliff. Linked together by frail-appearing steel cables, the tanks go at the precipice as a party of roped mountaineers might come down a sheer drop in the Caucasus. They are literally like flies on a wall. And their subsequent crossing of a river and magnificent storming of the Nazi stronghold seem almost tame after their aerial acrobatics.

Nor does *Red Tanks* sacrifice human values to the achievements of machinery. As a swift account of a blitz, it must of necessity limit its characterization to mere suggestion. And yet the young soldiers of its tank crew emerge as likable and believable figures, the Nazi commanders are done with a wicked satirical touch; above all, the warm human relationship between Soviet officers and their men is everywhere in evidence. Moments of humor are not lacking, and the song of the Soviet tank brigades is stirringly presented. In short, *Red Tanks* does not neglect its entertainment opportunities.

Far more important than these, however, are the sober analyses of the problems of war.

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This is the first war film I have seen which actually presents a tactical problem and its solution; the first which acknowledges that the people, the audience, must participate actively in the conduct of the war; which does not consider the technique of battle a professional secret. This serious and adult approach is beginning to appear in our own films for civilian defense. It should spread to all wartime movies.

AT FIRST SIGHT *Take a Letter, Darling* is just another of the screwball comedies which derive their humor not from their truth to life but from their improbability. This is a second-rate sort of laughter, depending enormously on surprise. It does not live in the memory; and, as almost all the possible film surprises have been exhausted by this time, the screwball comedy has fallen on evil days. *Take a Letter, Darling* is certainly livelier than most, being distinguished by its characters' appalling honesty—they tell the truth about each other, the advertising business, and Daughters of the Old South. Many of the lines are hilarious; the basic joke, that of a female advertising executive with a male secretary-gigolo, will do at a pinch to hang a picture on. Nevertheless, and in spite of Rosalind Russell, you might blow away the film like a bit of thistledown, did it not contain, like seeds in the thistledown, some ideas.

There is really no incompatibility between hilarious comedy and deep thought, as Shaw has demonstrated long since. It is hardly necessary to say that *Take a Letter, Darling* is not in the Shaw category; its flashes of honesty and intelligence do not lead to any steady illumination. As if by accident, however, it makes at least one good point: that an independent woman who earns her money is not only more honorable but also more desirable than a clinging female who proposes to marry it.

Considerable emphasis is placed upon the first idea. Miss Russell, accused of being unfeminine because she is efficient, blasts that harem-minded absurdity out of existence with all the considerable fire at her command. She is effectively contrasted with a lady wolf from the tobacco country—the "feminine" type at its predatory worst. She is explicitly and sincerely complimented for standing on her own two feet like a self-respecting adult instead of hunting a millionaire like . . . well, the average Hollywood heroine. So all honor to *Take a Letter, Darling* for this bit of sound sense in the midst of nonsense.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

★

THE subject of swing music is evidently agitating the brain-boys of Hollywood. Following Paramount's *Birth of the Blues* and Warner's *Blues in the Night,* RKO makes its contribution to the field with *Syncopation.* Like its predecessors, it is saddled with a puerile love story. But unlike the others, it makes one or two manly efforts to evaluate the history of jazz with acceptable accuracy.

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For one thing, the film admits that swing is original with the Negro people and not with the big-name radio bands or itinerant white crooners. What is even more to the point, the young white trumpet player hero learns the fine points of his craft from a Negro exponent of New Orleans jazz. That kind of admission is almost high courage for the movie moguls. But remembering at the last moment that "business is business," a ripe piece of Jim Crow is inserted into the scene. When the said hero asks to be allowed to play with the Negro band, he is tossed a trumpet which is carefully stressed to be *new* and not blown into before.

For the rest, the Negroes in the film are treated with rare decency, and except for the one malodorous incident, this is the kind of attitude you would expect from Director Dieterle, one of Hollywood's most enlightened men.

Syncopation, in a kind of loose way, follows the spread and development of jazz as it travels northward from New Orleans to Chicago, and thence eastward to New York's bistro centers. It takes cognizance of the influence of King Oliver, one of the early jazzmen of the South and the mentor of Louis Armstrong, of Louis himself, tootling his way northward, of Bix Biederbecke, the young man with the horn, of the Austin High School innovators, of Paul Whiteman and his formal dance orchestrations that almost shackled the free-playing jazzmen. It even includes, through the device of a silly court trial, the fight to get this "sinful music" accepted by "respectable" society as an important folk art.

For once, also, somebody picked some solid jazz tunes for the dub-in music. Some of the finest recordings in the history of swing are almost alone worth the price of admission. There is "Jazz Me Blues," a Biederbecke classic, "Sugarfoot Stomp," "Copenhagen," "Ja-Da Strain," and others. But the incredibly bad job of casting almost offsets the film's virtues. Jackie Cooper played the hero with the horn and Bonita Granville was the other half of the boy-girl chase. Even Todd Duncan, who plays the wandering Negro musician, was unpersuasive in his part. And somebody should keep Bonita Granville from playing boogie-woogie. She almost loses the case for swing music.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

RESORT NEWS

WITH the advent of Memorial Day, traditional signal for the revival of the vacation and week-end habit, what remains of civilian social and cultural life shifts its center of operations from the city to the country. Thus many well known singers, dancers, actors, musicians, theater directors, and the like are to be found introducing new subject matter, new plays, new concerts, etc., at these vacation centers. Because many of our readers have requested us to print some record of these activities, NEW MASSES is introducing this weekly column of resort

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of news of these centers, this column will print reviews of the theater programs, when they merit full treatment. This column will also take cognizance of the special war activities of summer resorts, whether it be parties for the Army and Navy Funds, the organized sale of war stamps and bonds, or the special considerations and plans for the caring of servicemen on leave. If our readers would like special information with regard to specific summer camps and resorts, such information will be found in this column, provided it is pertinent to the general character of *Resort News.*

Green Mansions, which in the past has housed such illustrious theater companies as the Group Theater and the original *Pins and Needles* company, has an ambitious schedule for the coming season. Its Summer Theater will be directed by Isaac Van Grove, the conductor of the Chicago Opera Company. Both plays and concerts will be done by a resident acting group, of which the star is Natalie Hall who used to act in various Shubert musicals.

Lou Kleinman, who together with Lewis Allen, writes all the material for the annual Teachers Union and Lawyers Guild shows, will be in charge of the staff at *Chesters' Zunbarg.* Its chief assistant is Stanley Prager who has been emceeing here and there in the non-professional field with a good deal of success.

Lewis Allen, the composer of "Strange Fruit," will be at *Allaben Acres.* This camp, which developed the energetic Allaben Players some seasons back with Phil Leeds as the mainspring, will have another fine company this season. Besides Allen, there will be Al Saxe, director of *Johnny Doodle* and *Johnny Johnson,* who will head the staff. Sidney Bechet, that fine classical master of swing, will be there all summer.

Camp Unity, one of the most popular, and certainly the largest of the near-New York-City-resorts, will feature the swing of Frankie Newton again after his absence of a year. Bob Steck, the Spanish veteran who was freed from a Franco prison, will be in charge of the social staff and Perry Harte, who directed the American Youth Theater last winter, will lead the dramatic staff.

The Foner brothers, those courageous teachers who started a dance band when they were suspended by the Rapp-Coudert inquisition, will spend the summer at *Arrow-Head Lodge* where they will not only play but participate in dramatic activities.

At *Maud's Summer Ray,* Zuny Maud will be back again with his Jewish and English Puppet theater. In addition the staff will include Katya Delakova, the dancer, and Lillian Zahn, the singer and guitarist.

Many resorts have not yet completed either their staffs or their plans at this writing. However, this information will be forthcoming soon and if we have not yet printed any material about your favorite spot, we will be sure to do so in the near future.

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